

# ACROSS THE BUSY YEARS

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

Intimate revelations of international affairs  
and famous personalities from 1893 to 1939

# ACROSS THE BUSY YEARS

Volume II

by

NICHOLAS MURRAY  
BUTLER

*With 13 Illustrations from Photographs*

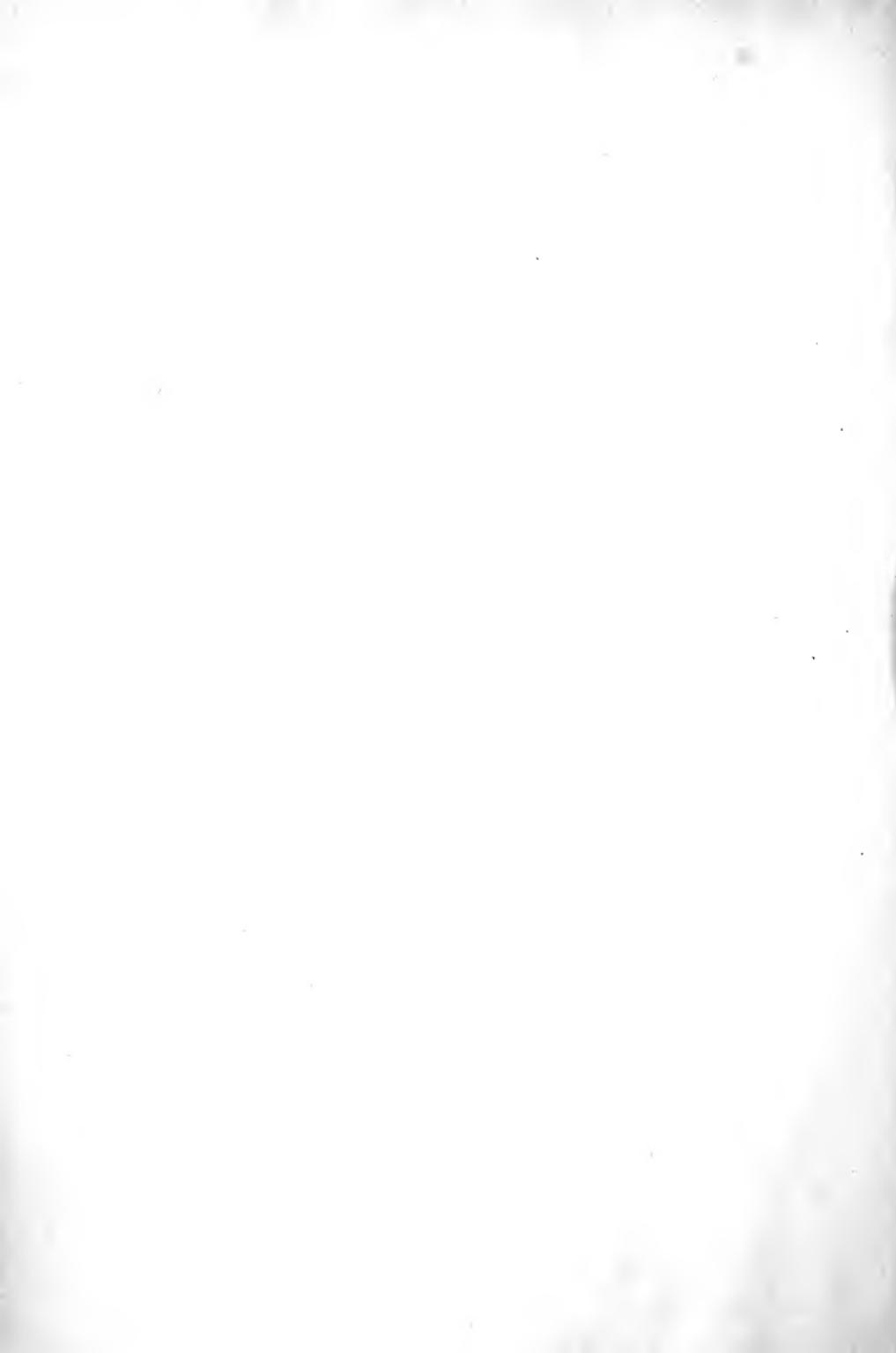
Dr. Butler's distinguished career in widespread fields of American life was the substance of the first volume of his autobiography. Now, in an equally significant and absorbing volume, he recalls his active, lifelong participation in European and international affairs. It has been his privilege to know in intimate association kings and prime ministers, statesmen, scholars and diplomats; and, drawing upon a vast store of revealing anecdotes, he has written a volume as compellingly interesting as it is historically valuable.

It begins with an account of the author's first trip to the Near East in 1893; tells of the eventful summer of 1905 when he had audiences with practically every person of importance in England, France and Germany; and continues the account of his labors and achievements throughout recent decades. It is a record of unique experi-

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Continued from front page

ences: among them, his close and almost confidential relationship with Kaiser Wilhelm from 1905 to 1913; his visits to Germany after the war on the invitation of Dr. Stresemann, when he addressed, as no other foreigner has, the German Reichstag; his conversations with Mussolini during which he explained his reasons for criticizing Fascism.

As Director of the Carnegie Institute for International Peace, Dr. Butler was closely identified during the post-war years both with reconstruction work and with successive attempts to create a closer bond of understanding between the nations of Europe. He recalls his part in the rebuilding of the library of the University of Louvain, the library of Rheims, the reorganization of the Vatican Library; and his efforts to establish a permanent peace by paving the way for the first Balkan Conference and the Pact of Paris. In pages packed with fascinating behind-the-scenes glimpses of history in the making, he presents many new stories of important happenings — some not previously known at all, others in arresting opposition to previously accepted beliefs, all of first importance to an understanding of world affairs. While the volume as a whole is concerned with Europe, the concluding pages are devoted to a vitally interesting discussion of American problems and of prominent Americans.



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*Photograph by White Studio*

**NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER**  
President of Columbia University since 1901

# ACROSS THE BUSY YEARS

*Recollections and Reflections*

II

By

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

*President of Columbia University*

*President of the American Academy of Arts and Letters*

*President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

*Membre de l'Institut de France*



CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS • NEW YORK  
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS • LTD • LONDON

MCMXL

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A



TO HER  
WHO FOR MORE THAN THREE AND THIRTY  
OF THESE BUSY YEARS HAS BEEN MY COMPANION  
MY INSPIRATION AND MY GUIDE

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ACROSS  
THE BUSY YEARS



## I

## WEST MEETS IMMEMORIAL EAST

YEARS of study and reflection in school, in college and for some years thereafter, had given me so good an understanding and so high an appreciation of those springs of spiritual aspiration and expression from which flowed the fertilizing power of our Western civilization, that I had a keen desire to see for myself the geographic environment from which these powerful and continuing forces sprang. Opportunity came in the winter of 1893 when for the first time, and indeed for the only time, I was able to avail myself of the privilege of sabbatical leave which members of the staff of Columbia University enjoy under the provisions of the University statutes. It was with the keenest interest that a trip to the Near East was planned, and every hour of it proved to be abundant in enjoyment, in information and in the highest form of satisfaction.

The voyage from New York to Naples was made by one of the North German Lloyd ships which then traversed that route during the winter months. After a brief stop at Naples, the voyage eastward was continued on one of the fine ships of the P. and O. Line, which called at Naples en route from London to Australia. Some four days were spent in crossing the Mediterranean and then the Immemorial East came, for the first time,

into my view at Port Said. Here a truly cosmopolitan sight presented itself. There were vessels of every size and sort and kind, flying almost every known flag, either waiting their turn to enter the Suez Canal or coming from it westbound. The confusion of tongues was almost as great as it must have been at the Tower of Babel. The clothing and the costumes that one saw were as varied as the color, the height and the size of the individuals who wore them. Plainly, Port Said was not a national town of any kind, but an international crossroads. In due time the ship moved slowly through the Suez Canal and one had splendid opportunity to see its construction and mode of operation and to gaze at the apparently boundless desert through which it ran. As afternoon drew on we came to Ismailia, and there left the ship to begin the visit to Egypt.

Ismailia was the center from which De Lesseps had organized and carried on the administrative work in connection with the construction of the Canal, but in 1893 it retained but few marks of its former importance. From Ismailia to Cairo was a journey which though relatively short was fascinatingly interesting. First, because it ran through the Egyptian desert, seen for the first time; and second, because it crossed the famous battlefield of Tel-el-Kebir, which name had become of world-wide interest only a few years earlier.

Despite the fact that Egypt itself was in a state of unrest and that General Kitchener and his troops were steadily moving against the Mahdi in Upper Egypt, the sights and scenes were much too engaging not to absorb one's almost undivided attention. In those days Egypt was pretty far away from Europe. Lord Cromer was Consul-General. There were no telephones, no radios, and telegrams were costly. Mail service was relatively

infrequent, and those who came from Europe to Egypt during the winter months usually came to make a considerable stay. Anything approaching the present stream of tourist traffic was then quite unheard of. One looked at the Pyramids and at the Sphinx as he might have regarded the North Pole or a distant planet. No visitor from the West with any pretense of education or of wide reading could fail to be affected and stimulated by the mere sight of these colossal monuments of bygone days and of a civilization that had passed. One moonlight night I mounted a horse at about eleven o'clock and started to ride due west across the desert from Mena House in the immediate vicinity of the Pyramids. The loneliness, the silence and the remoteness of it all were fascinating in the extreme and there was ample opportunity to reflect upon what it all meant to our own times and to my own land. Turning back after a couple of hours, I rode east toward the Pyramids just as the first rays of the morning sun were striking them. That was a never to be forgotten sight and no words of mine can adequately describe it or record its impressiveness. The slow journey up the Nile by the dahabeh was intensely interesting, if for no other reason than because it enabled one to see precisely what Egypt was like and how it had been made by the annual rise and fall of the waters of the Nile. Each night our boat stopped and we tied up to the bank, giving opportunity to go ashore if one desired to do so. At one point, well to the north of Cairo, I secured a horse about nine o'clock in the evening and rode out on the desert to see what I could find. A mile or two away I came upon what can best be described as a small village, made of what appeared to be mud huts. No lights were visible in this settlement, but it was a brilliant night. Wandering slowly

in and out of its shadowy streets, I noticed one dim rush-light and, on stopping to listen, heard a voice apparently addressing a group of some sort. Dismounting, I pushed open the gate which led to the enclosed space from which the voice appeared to come and over which the light was. I found some ten or twenty men and women sitting on the ground, Eastern fashion, listening to a man who was making what proved to be a religious address. Neither he nor any of his hearers paid the slightest attention to this intruding visitor clad in European dress and plainly without any business in such a remote spot. I remained to listen, however, for some little time. Finally, when the speaker ended he came up to me and in excellent English told me that he was a graduate of the American Protestant College at Beirut, and that he was carrying on a missionary movement among the natives of the valley of the Nile. This struck me as an extraordinary illustration of the far-flung influence of some of our American ideas and American institutions.

Luxor, of course, was of absorbing interest, although it was still in the early days of the excavations and a host of important antiquities which have since become world-famous were then unknown and almost unsuspected. The ruins of the great Temple were truly a sight to behold, and one from the West could only marvel at how such massive construction could have been possible thousands of years ago. At Luxor one felt himself in the presence of the shadow of a great and bygone civilization, whose physical remains were buried in the boundless sands of the Egyptian desert.

At that time it was not possible for the visitor to go south of Assuân, where the famous temple of Philæ was still visible in all its beauty, as the great dam which has now largely engulfed it had not then been built. Beyond

Philæ, visitors were either not welcome or absolutely forbidden, because General Kitchener and his troops needed for their work all of the resources of transportation and communication.

On returning to Cairo, a visit to the university there revealed in how many different senses the word university may be used. All that was to be seen at the moment was a host of young people sitting on the ground, each one reading or writing something peculiar to himself and apparently with very little immediate supervision or direction. Nevertheless, the University of Cairo has played a very considerable part in Egyptian life and has plainly served a useful purpose.

On leaving Egypt for Palestine, the route followed was by ship from Alexandria to Jaffa, for all this was many years before the railway was built across the desert from Cairo to Jerusalem. That ship is of evil memory, particularly because of its discomforts and especially because of its filth. It was a Russian vessel called the *Korniloff*, crowded with Russians of every sort and kind on their way to Jerusalem for the celebration of the Greek Easter festival. A few years later I read, with entire resignation, that this vessel had been wrecked and ruined in a storm off the coast of Crete. For this journey I was offered a berth in a room with three other travellers, two of whom were priests of the Greek Church and the other a Russian dignitary of some sort. The conditions in that cabin, however, were too much for my idiosyncrasies and I arranged with the steward to let me have one of the few steamer chairs which the ship afforded and I passed the night sitting in it on the deck, wrapped in a travelling rug. In the morning we were at Jaffa, where, since there was no harbor and no dock, landing was effected in small boats, often on a more or less troubled sea. On this particular

occasion two or three travellers lost their trunks, which found a way to fall into the Mediterranean instead of getting into the boat which was provided to take them ashore. Since Jaffa is the spot at which the whale is supposed to have swallowed Jonah, I began a conversation on the subject of this happening with two of my fellow-voyagers who were Presbyterian ministers from Texas. They were greatly grieved at my obvious skepticism and protested more or less earnestly against my jocular attitude whenever Jonah or the whale was mentioned.

The trip to Jerusalem was made by rail across the fields in which once grew the roses of Sharon. On arrival at Jerusalem, the city immediately absorbed all attention. One's first visit to Jerusalem is surely an outstanding life event. The city itself was in those days shabby and uninviting in the extreme; but the surrounding country, so rich in historical association and incident, was a never failing source of delight. Two strong impressions remain across the years. One is the relative smallness of the area in which so many events of lasting importance to mankind took place and the other is the astonishing accuracy of the geographical descriptions given in the Old Testament. Distances, directions and important topographic features were all precisely as the Old Testament writers had long ago described them. The accuracy of their observation and of their records was marvellous. The Temple area, the Brook called Kedron, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem were each and all centers of deepest interest. The conflict of opinion as to the place of Christ's burial was marked by the distance between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the traditional spot, and the hill of Calvary just north of the city wall, which has for a long time past been believed

to be the actual place where His body was buried. By great good fortune this visit was made at the time of the formal celebration of the Greek Easter festival. Jerusalem and its vicinity were crowded with hosts of visiting pilgrims who were members of the Eastern Church. On Easter morning it was a truly sad sight to look down upon the crowd assembled in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and to witness the unbecoming and boisterous happenings in that supposedly sacred place, where various types of Christian were kept in order and prevented from doing each other harm by the attending soldiers of the Moslem faith. Standing near the door of the Holy Sepulchre were six or eight men, very lightly clad in clothes made for rapid running, each of whom carried a candle in his hand. Promptly at noon there was a flash of light from the interior of the Holy Sepulchre, at which each runner lighted the candle that he held in his hand and, protecting it from the wind, started rapidly for the church from which he came, in order to light the candles upon its altar with fresh fire from the Holy Sepulchre itself. Some of these churches were at a great distance. It was an odd but significant sight, and both then and later has often provoked reflection as to the lasting power and influence through the ages of tradition and superstition. The actual sepulchre to the north of Jerusalem was a simple enough place and without any of the elaborate ecclesiastical surroundings or adornments of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the city itself.

During the years that have passed the changes in Palestine have been many and revolutionary. The civilization of the modern West has since taken possession of that land and the conditions which existed in 1893 would probably be quite unrecognizable today.

Apart from the historic associations of Palestine, no

place that was then visited compared in impressiveness with Damascus. It was reached by way of Beirut, where the American College, already well established and doing admirable work under the direction of Doctor Daniel Bliss, was famous throughout that part of the country for the helpful services of its medical missionaries. In those days, Damascus was quite out of the world. There was, of course, no railway, no telephone and I doubt whether there was a telegraph line. At all events, we left Beirut at daybreak on an old English coach which might have done duty in Cornwall in the eighteenth century. It rumbled heavily along, changing horses every few hours and stopping first for morning coffee and afterward for luncheon at small and isolated settlements. As the afternoon drew toward its end, our coach climbed the western slopes of the Anti-Lebanon mountains and from their summit we looked down upon the literally entrancing sight of Damascus. There lay the city with white buildings and green trees watered by the biblical rivers of Abana and Pharpar, surrounded by desert on every side. To the east the nearest place of consequence was Bagdad, many days' journey away. One really felt that he had reached the edge of the world.

No one had sufficiently emphasized to me the fact that Damascus was, relatively speaking, a busy manufacturing city. A large part of the wares made of metal or of lacquer that were sold in the bazaars of Cairo and Alexandria, of Jerusalem and even of Constantinople, were made in little shops on either side of the historic Street called Straight. Yet as one walked down that ancient street he could not fail to be impressed with the busy character of the population and with the quality of the work of various sorts and kinds that was being done. One morning I visited the Damascus branch of the Ottoman

Bank in order to draw some money on my American letter of credit. I signed the necessary papers and put them in the hands of the manager of the bank, who, having sent them off for proper attention, then engaged in conversation with me. He was a splendid-looking Turk of perhaps sixty years of age, with every mark of high intelligence and strong personality written upon him. Looking at my letter of credit he said to me in French: "You come from the West, do you not? What part of the West?"

"Yes," was my reply, "I come from New York."

"Ah, New York! What sort of a place is that? How does it compare with Damascus?" This was a question both perplexing and staggering, but I hastened to reply that I had noticed one characteristic which New York and Damascus had in common, and that was they were both busy industrial centers. Of course, New York and Damascus differed greatly in size and in population, but I had been impressed with the fact that some of the characteristics of New York's busy life were quite obvious in the life of Damascus.

"But," I continued, seeking for an opportunity to draw a distinction between the two places, "I notice a very great difference in the attitude of the inhabitants of these two cities toward time. Here in Damascus your people are busy, but they are busy in leisurely fashion and what they cannot do today they let go until tomorrow. In New York, on the other hand, every attempt is made to crowd all possible activity into the shortest possible time. Indeed, so great is the pressure to this end that we Americans have had to invent a word to describe our activity." I then went on to define "hustle" and to explain what that word was intended to mean. The wise old Turk, with his eyes fixed on me, listened to my enthusiastic outburst,

and then said these remarkable words which surely reflect the wisdom of the Immemorial East:

"Yes, young man, we understand all that. Those are the signs of extreme youth. We outgrew all that sort of thing thousands of years ago." Surely here was the Immemorial East speaking to the young and undisciplined West!

During our conversation I asked this distinguished-looking Turk what progress the American missionaries in Turkey had made in converting non-Christians to Christianity. His answer surprised me greatly. He said, with emphatic definiteness, that only four Moslems in Turkey had ever been known to be converted to Christianity and that two of these had been killed by members of their families while the other two had fled the country. He went on to explain that what the American missionaries really did was to attempt to convert one type of Christian to another. He added that the most familiar undertaking was that which had for its end the conversion to Presbyterianism or Methodism of either the Greek Catholic or the Roman Catholic or the Coptic Christian or the Armenian Christian. He was very insistent that the facts, despite all other statements to the contrary, were precisely as he gave them. He described Christianity as, in his view, a form of religious civil war between those who, supposedly holding one and the same fundamental faith, differed as to many externals and observances. He added, sarcastically, that if these rival Christian missionaries would go back to America and agree upon what Christianity really is, and then return to Asia and preach one and the same Christianity, the Moslems might be willing to listen to them. At the same time this fine old Turk expressed the greatest admiration for the medical missionaries, and spoke at some length

of what they had accomplished in improving the health and safety of the Moslem population in that part of the East. He was particularly enthusiastic about their service in maternity cases and in relieving those diseases of the eye which at that time were so common in that country. All this was borne in upon me by the speaker with intense earnestness.

Later on, the ship by which I was sailing for Smyrna called early in the morning at the harbor of Alexandretta. Coming on deck before many of the passengers had arisen, I observed that at the mouth of the Jihun River, where it flows into the Mediterranean, there were on either side of the stream two short sandstone pillars, obviously left there after some retiring glacier had done its work. There are two similar sandstone pillars at the mouth of the Russian River in California. One of the ship's officers, pointing to these two pillars, said that I would be interested to know that this was the spot where Jonah escaped from the whale and came ashore, and that one of these pillars was a monument to Jonah and the other a monument to the whale. Shortly afterward, when my two Presbyterian minister friends from Texas, who happened to be again on the same ship, came on deck, I went up to them and apologized for my skepticism as expressed in the harbor of Jaffa. With perfectly straight face, I told them that I was now convinced of the truth of the story of Jonah and the whale since here were two physical monuments which proved the facts. Some months afterward I received marked copies of an article in a Texas newspaper, written by one of these fellow-voyagers, pointing out the great value of a visit to Palestine and Syria in curing skeptics of their skepticism. Later on I fear I fell once more in their esteem since as we passed the island of Patmos I expressed grave doubts

as to whether any one could have written so remarkable a work as the Book of Revelations on so small an island.

The voyage through the islands of the *Ægean*, each one of which could be plainly seen, and the short stop at the island of Rhodes, were a new revelation of historic and geographic interest. Rhodes, which has now passed into the hands of Italy and been greatly changed in appearance, was then distinctly mediæval in aspect and the traces of its occupation by the Knights of St. John were many and various. Indeed, their coats of arms were carved over the doorways of not a few of the stone houses along the so-called Knights' Road. When Smyrna was reached our chief interest was in the trip out to Ephesus, and there began to run through our minds the story of the beginnings of Greek political organization and Greek political influence. The ruins of the great Temple of Diana were impressive still, after all the centuries, and the fact that the Apostle Paul had lived at that place for some three years was interesting indeed. In fact, no small part of the early history of the Christian Church was written from that now almost deserted spot. Leaving Smyrna, our route lay through the remaining Greek islands, past the battlefield of ancient Troy and by the Dardanelles and the sea of Marmora to Constantinople. Almost hour by hour the Immemorial East kept speaking to me by some word or act of its own, and the fundamental fact that the East and the West are two markedly different forms of the human approach to civilization was more obvious day by day.

In those days Constantinople, like Port Said, was an international crossroads. It was, of course, the Turkish capital, but one met men from practically every corner of the globe who had come there for some sort or kind of interest or occupation. The visitor from the West could

not but remember that this city had been the capital of the Roman Empire for centuries and that from it there had come out into Eastern Europe a continuing stream of influence, political and intellectual as well as religious, which had made a profound impression upon the thought of the world.

The heart of a lover of the classics leaped at the first sight of Athens, dominated by its noble Parthenon, as it was approached by the harbor of Piræus. The huge population which now inhabits that part of Greece had not then arrived and the city had a sense of separateness which was in keeping with its age and historic importance. Surely there can be no more moving place in the Old World to rest for an hour as the sun moves toward its setting than at the foot of the Temple of the Wingless Victory. Near by, to the left, is the theatre where were presented to the Athenian people the superb dramas of Æschylus, of Sophocles and of Euripides. At a little distance was the Grove of Academe, where Plato taught and started the intellectual life of the Western peoples on its course. A little farther to the right was the spot where Socrates made his famous *Apologia*, and within easy sight was Mars Hill from which St. Paul made his great appeal to the Athenians. The site of the battle of Salamis was in front of one, and that of the battle of Marathon lay just behind the hills to the right. Surely nowhere else on this earth could a geographic setting which has meant so much be found in any compass, whether great or small.

The more that one reflects upon the achievements of the Greek people, particularly during the fifth and the early part of the fourth centuries before Christ, the more he must be astounded at their immortal power. All those material comforts and luxuries upon which our modern life seems so largely to depend were wholly lacking, but

the human spirit was free to soar to its greatest heights. Let one go back to Athens, even today with all the changes which the years have brought, and he will still feel the inspiration of the Greek name and the Greek achievement. At Athens one plainly crossed the line which divides the Immemorial East from the vigorous and many-sided West.

The next objective was that from which the visitor might cry, with deepest feeling, *Ave Roma Immortalis!*

## II

### A SUMMER TO REMEMBER, 1905

AFTER 1893 I was not able to make a long European visit until the summer of 1905. This was because of my active work on matters relating to educational theory and practice with the National Education Association, which held its meetings in July of each year at widely separated points throughout the country, as well as because of the steadily increasing pressure of my University duties and responsibilities. These were not only as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, but also as Director of the Summer Session. My contacts with European friends were kept up by correspondence. In 1904 the so-called Moseley Commission, made up of outstanding representatives of British education, came to spend several weeks in the United States in the study and observation of our American educational system. My relationship to this important undertaking, which was originated and supported by Mr. Alfred Moseley, brought me a number of new and very stimulating personal contacts with leaders of opinion in Great Britain.

The feeling was growing, particularly in view of my intimate relationship with Baron d'Estournelles de Constant in France as well as because of the stirring effects of the first Hague Conference of 1899, that I must not longer postpone my annual visits to Europe.

Early in the winter of 1904-5, therefore, I came to the conclusion to pass the summer of 1905 in Europe, and communicated that fact to a few friends on the other side of the Atlantic. These included Alfred Moseley, Michael E. Sadler, James Bryce and John Morley. Quite accidentally, during the spring I mentioned the matter of a probable summer in Europe to Baron Speck von Sternburg, the German Ambassador, next to whom I happened to sit at luncheon at the house of Mrs. Douglas Robinson in New York. The Ambassador immediately asked me whether I would not like to meet the Kaiser if I went to Germany. I answered that I should of course be most happy to meet the Kaiser and would be most honored in the meeting, but that I had no idea that he would have any reason for wishing to receive me. Nothing more was said or heard of the matter until some weeks later, when the Ambassador wrote to say that he had advised the Kaiser through the Foreign Office of my probable coming to Germany in the summer, and that the Kaiser wished very much to see me and would be glad to receive me at Wilhelmshöhe at some convenient time, probably in August. This is the way in which my first meeting with the German Kaiser came about.

I sailed from New York by the *Baltic* on Wednesday, June 21, feeling utterly worn out with the long year's work, and looking forward keenly to the rest and change of the sea voyage. This proved to be even more enjoyable than I had any reason to anticipate. The ship was perfection, both as to comfort and as to service. Having a large company of personal friends on board, the time passed most pleasantly as well as restfully. One could not help noticing the great changes that had taken place in the twelve years since 1893 in everything pertaining to the structure and comfort of the ocean steamships themselves.

When in 1884 I first crossed on the *Servia* and in 1885 returned on the *Etruria*, those boats were regarded as the very best on the Atlantic; yet in no single respect did they compare with the *Baltic*, whether judged from the stand-point of steadiness, of space, of size of cabin or of service.

The ocean voyage was uneventful, although a little slower than had been anticipated, and it was the evening of Wednesday, June 28, before we were abreast of Fastnet Light. That happened to be the evening of the inevitable concert for the benefit of Seamen's Charities in New York and Liverpool, at which I was compelled reluctantly to preside. As we were not to touch at Queenstown until after 2 A. M., I saw nothing of that port. Most of the following day, Thursday, June 29, we spent going up St. George's Channel and making the rather slow and tortuous approach to Liverpool by the Mersey River. It was exactly seven o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, June 29, when the gangplank was put out at the Liverpool landing-stage, and I was back in England.

#### ENGLAND

Here again there was something new. The old days of anchoring in midstream and going ashore by tender were over. The ship was tied up to the landing-stage exactly as in New York, and the special train of the London and Northwestern Railway was waiting close at hand. To disembark the passengers and their luggage and to get those of them who were bound for London safely on board the train, took about one hour and a half. Through the kindness of some unknown friend I was approached immediately on reaching the landing-stage by an official of the London and Northwestern Railway, who volunteered to see my luggage through the Customs and who told me

that a compartment had been reserved for my use in the train to London.

The run from Liverpool to London was another revelation of the rapid progress made in Europe during the recent years. This run of nearly two hundred miles was now made in twelve minutes less than four hours, without any stop, and in the greatest possible comfort. The roadbed was apparently in perfect condition, and the corridor cars had done away with the chief objection to the old English compartment system. Indeed, the train seemed to be almost perfection and to combine the best features of the American and the English railway equipment. A capital dinner, at a very moderate price, was served in the dining-car, and it was difficult to believe that all of the comfort and luxury by which we were surrounded had succeeded so rapidly to the marked discomforts of similar trains in England when I first knew them some twenty years before.

From the moment of my arrival in London I was caught up in a perfect swirl of appointments and engagements. Mr. Alfred Moseley was kindness and hospitality itself. He had already arranged, before I left New York, that I should spend Sunday, July 2, with him. Naturally, I looked him up as soon as possible after getting settled at the Hotel Carlton, and found him in his offices in the Union Bank Buildings, Ely Place, as genial and as cordial as ever. He was good enough to ask me to attend a garden party that he was giving on the afternoon of Saturday, July 1, for an important delegation of Australian manufacturers and merchants, but I thought it better to use the time to get various personal matters attended to and to renew my acquaintance with some of the near-by features of London.

On Saturday evening, July 1, I joined Mr. and Mrs. Moseley at King's Cross to take the 8:05 train for Hadley

Wood which was their suburban station. They had been good enough to ask down for Sunday a group of old friends—Professor John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford; H. T. Gerrans, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, and a member of the Hebdomadal Council; and Joseph R. Heape of Rochdale. Michael Sadler had been asked as well, but he was busy studying the schools of Essex and could not come until the following day. It was most agreeable and homelike to meet these old friends again, and to go over our experiences together in America and England in days gone by. Principal Rhys was very full of the details of his trip as a member of the Mosely Commission and dwelt with delight upon his visit to the White House and his hearty personal reception by President Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Gerrans was, as always, the very soul and spirit of efficiency, concealing by his modesty the fact that he was really the moving power in the Oxford of his day. Mr. Heape, who had been twice in America, was as keen as ever about his American friends and correspondents and full of zeal for the social and educational movement in England, to the advance of which he contributed so constantly and so generously.

Of course, it was broad daylight even when we reached Hadley Wood, and a short drive within plain sight of the historic battlefield of Barnet brought us to the entrance to West Lodge with its fine approach through two rows of noble elms. West Lodge itself was a comfortable English country house, doubtless rebuilt from time to time, but originally having served as the lodge at the west entrance to what had been the royal hunting park in the time of the Stuarts. I believe that one or two of the other lodges were still in existence, and like West Lodge were used as residences.

Sunday was a beautiful summer day, and we spent the

entire morning in walking about the gardens of West Lodge and in chatting under the trees. Shortly after breakfast an artist sent down by *The University Review* arrived, and it was necessary to give him a chance to make a drawing from life. This he did with very poor success, as may be judged by looking at the result in *The University Review* for August, 1905. Mr. Heape, however, took some admirable photographs of our group, and I am glad to preserve them as a memento of a very delightful day.

Before midday Michael Sadler arrived, and it was worth crossing the ocean to see his bright and cheerful face and to hear his admirable talk about men and things. During luncheon and all through the early afternoon we kept up the liveliest sort of conversation, and I was able to see at once how keen was the interest in current politics, and how sharply the financial proposals of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain were dividing parties as well as men in England. About four o'clock a very considerable number of men who had been in America as members of the Mosely Commission arrived for tea. They were all most kind and cordial and quite too complimentary about what little we had been able to do for them in America. A dozen or more of them came and the talk was largely reminiscent, as might have been expected. Late in the evening Sadler left to resume his Essex job early on Monday morning, and Gerrans went with him in order to reach Oxford in time to sleep in his own bed. Rhys, Heape and I went back to London the next morning with Mosely, but were to meet often again, fortunately, during the next two or three weeks.

On getting back to the Carlton Hotel I rested for several hours because of the garden party which Mr. and Mrs. Mosely were giving in my honor at the Botanic

Gardens in the afternoon. I had been in bed for the last four or five days before leaving New York and did not feel up to very much physical exertion. Promptly at three o'clock I turned up at the Royal Botanic Society Gardens and found Mr. and Mrs. Moseley waiting with two or three intimate friends at the entrance to the receiving tent. Very soon the guests began to arrive, and for more than two hours they streamed past in seemingly endless procession. Mr. Moseley had been good enough to ask not only large numbers of representative educators and teachers of all sorts and kinds, but many public men as well as editors, men of science and others. As the guests distributed themselves over the beautifully kept lawn, it was a charming sight. Naturally I was not able to have much talk with any special individuals, although I did have a chance for an interesting five minutes with the Bishop of Hereford, whose writings and speeches I had long followed since his career as the head of a great public school. Toward the close of the afternoon I was able to have a very good talk indeed with George E. Buckle, Editor in Chief of *The London Times*, and found him a man of marked individuality, great force and keen, well-informed mind. We remained good friends until his death in 1935.

As soon as I properly could, I returned to my hotel to rest again, as a dinner was planned for the evening. I had no idea how much of a dinner it was to be. The host was Edwin Andrew Cornwall, President of the London County Council, who, before I left New York, had written asking me to dine with him on the evening of July 3. My impression was that it was to be a private dinner. Imagine my surprise, therefore, on finding when I reached Whitehall Court that it was a large public dinner of seventy or eighty persons, and that some formal speaking

was obviously expected. The company was a very distinguished one and included not only a large number of the active members of the London County Council, especially those who were concerned in any way with education, but a fine representation of men of prominence and position, who, in one way or another, were part and parcel of the new educational movement in England. Naturally, not a few of them were men who had been members of the Mosely Commission, including Alfred Mosely himself, Professor Henry Edward Armstrong, Professor William Edward Ayrton, Principal T. Gregory Foster (knighted in 1917), the Reverend Thomas Leslie Papillon, the Reverend Arthur William Jephson (who, as Mayor of Southwark, had been receiving the King in the afternoon and still wore his regalia), Alfred J. Shepheard, Doctor John Rose Bradford, Robert Blair, and Sir Thomas Barclay. Three of the guests were former chairmen of the London County Council—Sir William Collins, Mr. McKinnon Wood, and Mr. J. Williams Benn. Among those whom I had not before seen were three whom I was particularly glad to meet, Sir Arthur Rucker, Principal of the University of London; Lord Reay, who had been so efficient in years gone by as chairman of the old London School Board; and Richard B. Haldane, whose philosophical books I had been reading since they first began to appear, fully twenty-five years earlier.

Sir William Collins made a strong impression upon me by his personality. He had the face and bearing of a physician whom one would implicitly trust. We sat next each other at table and had some capital talk. It was very interesting to hear him expound the view often referred to in America that lawyers take too active a part in public affairs for the good of the public, and that it is the duty of men of other professions to accept public office

and to engage actively in legislative and administrative matters. Sir William gave this as the reason why he himself was a member of the London County Council, and told me how he divided his time between his consultation practice, his hospital duties and his official service. He had done a good deal of reading in philosophy and held stoutly and ably to the opinions which he had formed. He interested me exceedingly and it was a matter of great regret that I was unable to meet him again during my stay. I have had that pleasure very often, however, in these later years.

Sir Arthur Rucker had efficiency and good sense written all over him. His task as the head of the University of London was a very difficult one, for it involved dealing with a large number of hitherto unrelated boards and organizations with a view to making out of them, through either union, federation or incorporation, a genuine university of the modern type. Sir Arthur was extremely successful so far as his work had gone, and my prediction was fulfilled that he would continue so until the end. He had charm and gentleness of manner, combined with marked force of character and conviction.

Lord Reay was a man of quite different type. He was past middle life, tall, spare, and distinguished looking. He made his early reputation in India and came of a family that had long-standing relationship with Indian administration. He was a Liberal peer and as the last chairman of the London School Board before its abolition by Parliament, was distinguished for moderation, tact and good sense in handling the troublesome and often warring forces that were represented in the school board and in the great metropolis.

At this dinner I saw for the first time Mr. Robert L. Morant, Secretary to the Board of Education. He was a

tall, fine-looking man, still young, of a strongly marked English type. He was obviously efficient and determined. I was interested in watching him because he was the man who was chiefly responsible for the situation which compelled Sadler to retire from the government service. Mr. Morant was, I think, a narrow man and a strong partisan. He never in the world could appreciate Sadler's enthusiasm and catholicity of view as to all matters educational. Much as Sadler's retirement from the government service was regretted by some of his friends, I found satisfaction expressed on all sides that he had retired. Every one seemed to agree and to feel that the work upon which he was then engaged, and the influence he was wielding, were far more important than any service he could have rendered by continuing at the Board of Education.

Some of the speaking at this dinner was very interesting, especially what was said by Mr. Haldane and Sir William Collins. Both men spoke extremely well, Haldane having a lightness of touch and a sureness and certainty of phrase which were very delightful to watch and to hear. Both men were serious and brought the evening to an end on a high, inspiring plane. My own speech was about twenty minutes in length, wholly extemporaneous of course, and as far as I remember dealt with what I ventured to characterize as two of the chief and most closely interrelated problems of the modern democracies, namely, municipal administration and public education. The application to London was quite obvious, and I offered some illustrations drawn from our American experience in New York, Chicago and elsewhere. Mr. Cornwall was exceedingly kind throughout my stay, and I was delighted to learn, after my return to London in the autumn, that as chairman of the London County Council he had been knighted by the King on the occasion of the

opening of King's High Way, the new street from the Strand to Holborn.

The following day was the Fourth of July, and the public functions that had been arranged by Ambassador Reid were abandoned because of the death four days earlier of John Hay, our Secretary of State. Ambassador and Mrs. Reid were good enough to ask me to take luncheon quietly at Dorchester House. The only other guests were Mrs. Charles T. Barney, who was about to sail for New York, and young Mr. Jay, who was Mr. Reid's private secretary. Dorchester House, built in 1851-53 by Captain Robert Stayner Holford of the Gloucester yeomanry, was without doubt a palace and an ideal place for an ambassador's entertainments. The only difficulty about it was that it was so magnificent and so large that no ambassador save one of great wealth could hope to keep up the customs which Mr. Reid inaugurated so delightfully. The grand staircase was a remarkable example of the architecture of seventy or eighty years ago, and the collection of paintings was most extraordinary. In one of the rooms on the ground floor there was a Van Dyck wholly unknown to me even by name, but quite as remarkable as any Van Dyck that I had ever seen.

In the evening I went to the Athenæum, where I had already presented myself as a guest, to dine with Sir Arthur Rucker. It was several years since I had been at the Athenæum, of which I have now long been a member. Mr. Bryce took me there on several occasions in earlier years, but this time I was given the privileges of the club for thirty days by the committee, under the rule. I made constant use of it, as it was but a few steps from the Carlton Hotel. Of course the library, as is well known, is one of the most charming spots in London. It is really a place to invite the soul.

For Sir Arthur's dinner they had cleared out the reading and writing room at the right of the main entrance door. This I discovered was the regular habit when private dinners were given, since there was then no other provision at the Athenæum in the way of private dining rooms.

There were sixteen at dinner and a distinguished company it certainly was—the sort of company that one could find in London and perhaps nowhere else.

Sir Arthur had asked a group of the most eminent scholars in England, among them my old friend, James Bryce, next to whom I sat and with whom I had a delightful talk. The others besides Sir Arthur and myself were, Lord Davey, who became one of the Lords of Appeal; Sir William Huggins, the distinguished astronomer and President of the Royal Society; Sir Edward H. Busk, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London; Michael Sadler; P. J. Hartog, the Registrar of the University of London and a man of marked executive capacity and zeal; Sir William Ramsay and Sir Henry Roscoe, the chemists; Sir Norman Lockyer, the astronomer; Alfred Mosely; Robert L. Morant, Secretary to the Board of Education; J. K. Fowler, who was one of the Inspectors of the Board of Education; H. Frank Heath, Sadler's successor at Whitehall; Mr. Edwin Cornwall, my host of the evening before; and James Bryce. Lord Davey was on Sir Arthur's left, and, therefore, most of my talk was with Bryce, Lord Davey and Sir Arthur himself. It was interesting to recall that three of the most eminent men at the table were honorary doctors of Columbia University—Ramsay, Bryce, and Sadler.

The rapid pace was fatiguing me a little, and as a large banquet was planned for the next evening I took most of that day to myself. There were several invitations

for luncheon, all of which I declined, and an invitation to go to the boat races at Henley. Late in the afternoon I drove down to St. Paul's to be present at the memorial service for John Hay. The service was superbly rendered, the music being quite extraordinary. Canon Gregory, who was then quite an old man, and Archdeacon Sinclair read the service. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend and Right Honorable Randall Davidson, was there, wearing his Columbia hood. Bishop Satterlee of Washington was also in the chancel. The main body of the Cathedral was filled with people, and the hundred or more who were admitted to the choir by special ticket were, of course, the best-known Americans then in London. A special touch of sadness and solemnity was given to the service by the fact that one of Mr. Hay's daughters was there with her husband, she having been on the ocean at the time of her father's death.

That evening I went to the new Hotel Great Central, where the official dinner in my honor was to be held. The hotel itself, together with the railway station of which it was a part, had both been built since I was last in London. The first person I met in the coat-room was John Morley, who was cordial in the extreme and delightful with the warmth and heartiness of his welcome. In the reception room the Marquess of Londonderry, President of the Board of Education, was receiving, and I was soon mingling with a very distinguished company of guests. The arrangements for the dinner had been made by Mr. Hartog, Registrar of the University of London, and Mr. Heath of the Board of Education. They had overlooked no detail, and the whole occasion was delightful in the extreme. They had even gone so far as to print a design of our Columbia seal on the menu. Lord Londonderry wore the Blue Ribbon of the Garter and

looked the aristocrat to his fingertips. He was very bright and amusing in his conversation, and frankly said he knew little or nothing about education and that Sir William Anson did all the work of his office. Sadler told me that the list of guests was very extraordinary in that it brought together for the first time in English history, on the ground of common interest, men representing every conceivable type of educational activity. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Wales, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and London were represented by their Vice-Chancellors; the Board of Education was represented by its President, its Parliamentary Secretary, Sir William Anson, and by a number of its permanent staff, including Robert Laurie Morant and H. Frank Heath, both of whom were afterward knighted. Principal Sir Oliver Lodge represented the University of Birmingham, and man after man of international reputation followed on the list. It really was an astonishing gathering, and one whose greeting completely overwhelmed me by its representative character and its marked warmth of friendship.

For the first time in my life I saw an old-fashioned master of ceremonies at work. Apparently Lord Londonderry had never seen this one before either, as he was very much bored by his antics. This particular individual was a man well on in years, evidently a veteran soldier, covered with medals and insignia of various kinds, and blessed with a loud resonant voice and no end of dramatic manner. He walked up and down behind Lord Londonderry's chair and when he thought it was time for him to begin to perform, recited an elaborate formula which included all of Lord Londonderry's many titles and distinctions, and called upon the guests to the right of the chair to rise and drink the chairman's health. This they did with some little confusion and astonishment. The same pro-

ceeding was then gone through with by the guests to the left of the chair. At frequent intervals thereafter various other formulas were recited or rather shouted by this master of ceremonies. He introduced each toast with an amount of ceremonial which was as appalling as it was funny. John Morley, who sat on one side of me, was first inclined to be amused at this whole episode, and then became annoyed by it and wanted to find means of stopping the fellow. However, he had evidently been retained for the occasion by the hotel people and nothing could possibly stop him. At the close of the dinner he handed his professional card to such guests as would take it, obviously with a view to future employment.

After the usual formal toasts, Lord Londonderry presented Sir Arthur Rucker, who proposed my health in a most flattering and delightful speech. I made the best sort of response that I could, dealing not with anything new, but with those subjects and points of view fundamental to all education, which are the beginning and the end of my creed. They all received it very kindly and the newspapers, particularly *The Morning Post* and *The Times*, treated me undeservedly well.

The two remaining speeches were by Sir Richard Jebb and Sir William Anson. Sir Richard, in addition to being one of the finest Greek scholars of his time, was at the moment Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge and had taken most active and influential part in the education debates of the three preceding years. What he had to say was most admirable, but his manner was not fortunate or impressive. It may be that he was already under the influence of the disease which was to end his brilliant life a few months later. It was a great pleasure to see him and to be able to tell him of my personal indebtedness to him for his *Sophocles*, as

well as for his many and admirable publications of a less weighty kind.

Sir William Anson, who spoke last, was by every token the gentleman and the scholar. Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, writer of high authority on legal and political topics and Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education, Sir William in his own person represented very much of what was best in contemporary English life. In voice, in manner and in content, his speech was perfect, and it ended an evening of great delight to me and, as many of the guests were kind enough to unite in saying, of great significance to England. It seemed, indeed, as if it required just the presence of a foreign friend to bring together around one table the warring elements whose feuds and conflicts had for years kept English education from moving forward. I expressed the belief that the hopeful presages that were then made would be justified by the events of the next few years. They certainly were so justified—and amply.

The following morning I called upon Mr. Pierpont Morgan in his house at Prince's Gate, which he afterward presented to the Government of the United States as the home of the Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The house is of the ordinary English Georgian type, but the interior was superb and the works of art that Mr. Morgan had gathered there were a museum in themselves. Mr. Laffan of *The New York Sun* was there and apparently much impressed by the newspaper accounts of what had happened on the evening before. Senator Allison of Iowa was also a caller, as was Congressman Cousins, likewise of Iowa and travelling with him in Europe. Mr. Morgan kindly took much time to show us all his treasures. Rarely have I seen before or since anything so complete and so beautiful as these were.

The next morning I took breakfast with the Bryces at their house in Portland Place, renewing our old friendship and having intimate talk of men and things. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bryce were very keen about the latest personal and political news from America, and very anxious as to the immediate political future in England. Mr. Bryce told me of two or three things that he wanted me to do, and of certain people whom he wanted me particularly to meet. These included Mr. J. A. Spender, editor of *The Westminster Gazette*, who quickly became a warm friend and has so continued to this day.

In the afternoon I joined Michael Sadler and we went down to Manchester together. During the journey of nearly four hours we had our first opportunity for a heart-to-heart talk. The more I saw of Sadler, the more I admired him. The man's whole nature was aflame with idealism for England and for mankind. If he had the gift of poetry, he would be a poet of great excellence, for he has the temperament, the vocabulary and the imagination of a poet. His oratory is wholly admirable, combining American enthusiasm with English dignity and restraint. His scholarship is capital and he has long since added wisdom to knowledge. These four hours alone with him were very grateful to me.

Arriving at Manchester we drove to the Vice-Chancellor's home, which is in the residential part of the town and surrounded by an acre or more of garden. Mr. Alfred Hopkinson, the Vice-Chancellor, afterward knighted, was an English gentleman of the old school. He was a trained lawyer, and had an unmistakably legal precision of utterance. He had been in Parliament, but at this time he was the administrative head of the University of Manchester. This was a new university, not unlike some of its American contemporaries, which had grown up on the

foundation of what was once Owens College. It is of the urban type and doing a most valuable and valiant work for the part of England which it particularly serves. For dinner that evening there assembled a notable company of guests. Among them was the Bishop of Manchester, a most interesting man. He had expected to come out with the Moseley Commission, but had been designated Bishop of Manchester just as the Commission was about to sail for America and therefore felt obliged to withdraw from it. Later Earl Spencer arrived. He was then the Honorary Chancellor of the University of Manchester and it was his duty to preside at the Convocation on the following day. I had heard of the "Red Earl" for nearly twenty years and here he was! He was older and less vigorous than I had expected to find him, but unmistakably the grand seigneur. He was very tall and fine-looking, and the full red beard which gave him his nickname was well streaked with gray. We naturally talked a good deal of politics in the evening, for Earl Spencer had been for many years in the forefront of England's political combat. As Liberal leader in the House of Lords he seemed in a way marked to be the next Prime Minister, and there was a good deal of talk to that effect heard here and there. But, on the other hand, the best-informed men kept reminding me that Earl Spencer was pretty old and not in good health and that, moreover, it would hardly do for the Liberal party of that day, leaning as it did so strongly upon the radical and labor elements, to be led by a peer. Unfortunately, Earl Spencer was stricken with apoplexy before Mr. Balfour resigned, and that fact ended any possible chance of his succeeding to the premiership.

The University Convocation was held on Saturday, July 8, at noon. Earl Spencer, Sadler and myself spent the morning discussing the news and chatting until we were

summoned to go to the University in order to have a look at the buildings before the time fixed for Convocation.

The Convocation itself was held at midday and lasted perhaps an hour and a half. It takes the place of our Commencement, although at that time it was not so well organized, and, save for the presence of the Chancellor and other distinguished persons, less impressive than our own functions. The hall was crowded to suffocation. The academic procession was relatively short, the platform being very small indeed. Earl Spencer wore court dress and all his orders, including the Ribbon of the Garter, and over all a great trailing blue silk gown with a broad gold border and covered with large gold spangles. He made a most stunning figure in it, but it would have been too much for any man of less height and presence. The undergraduates were in the gallery at the extreme end of the hall, and, true to English traditions, they behaved very badly indeed while the Chancellor was speaking. Their interruptions and their shouted questions were unmannerly and disconcerting. The custom which allows this sort of thing is a thoroughly bad one, and it ought not to be permitted to exist either at Oxford or elsewhere.

After the Chancellor's speech Sadler presented me for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He got through his speech without interruptions, save for one which was rather amusing. As Sadler first mentioned my name in his address, I inclined my head slightly to the Chancellor, at which there was a shout from the gallery, "Do you call that a bow, sir?" Everybody laughed, and then Sadler was permitted to go ahead. When the Chancellor conferred the degree and called upon me to speak I got through without interruption or disturbance. Perhaps the students felt that they ought to be on their best behavior with a stranger.

After Convocation we went back to the Vice-Chancellor's and then out to the edge of the city to a garden party. The sun was broiling hot and would have done credit to the same time of year in New York. It may well be imagined that a silk hat and frock coat were rather burdensome apparel.

Later in the afternoon Sadler and I slipped away and went to the station to take the train, he up to London and I as far as Oxford. Our train took us through the district known as the Potteries, and for the first time in my life I went through Macclesfield, the name of which I had heard since boyhood because of the fact that so many of the silk-working people at Paterson, New Jersey, came from there. About nine o'clock we stopped at Bletchley, and I left Sadler in order to take a branch line to Oxford. In less than an hour I was at the Oxford station, and there to meet me were Mr. Gerrans, who was to be my host, and Professor Fine of Princeton. It was very nice to see Fine, an old friend, who happened to be staying with Gerrans at the time. I was taken at once to Worcester College, where Gerrans was Fellow and Bursar and where he had secured me rooms.

The night was superb, and I had my first look at the famous Worcester College gardens under the most favorable circumstances. It was out of term, as the phrase is, and there were only one or two men living in college, so that the whole place was lonely and deserted. As everybody knows, Worcester goes back in part to the thirteenth century, when it was a monastery for Benedictine monks. The rooms assigned to me were not in the oldest part, but were old enough to be amazingly uncomfortable had it not been for the delight of it all. The Worcester gardens are perhaps the loveliest in Oxford, and my sitting-room windows opened out upon a corner of them

that was all my own. An old-fashioned outside iron stairway like a fire-escape led down from the sitting-room balcony to the garden, and as there was no one else on that side of the College the garden was to all intents and purposes my private close.

After Gerrans and Fine had left me for the night I went out on the balcony and surrendered myself to the charm of it all. There certainly before my eyes was the Oxford of Matthew Arnold—"spreading her gardens to the moonlight and whispering from her towers the last enchantment of the middle age." There is nothing like it in all the world, and if the Oxford of today is, as some seem to think, really unprogressive, reactionary and slow, we may, nevertheless, be deeply grateful to it for remaining beautiful and for preserving with historic continuity some of the finest traditions of mankind.

The only modern thing about my rooms was the electric light, which had evidently been installed in recent years. Everything else was primitive to a degree. My bedroom was a tiny monk's cell, with a mere slit high up in the wall for a window. The sitting-room window, however, was generous and, as I have said, opened straight out on to a balcony which overlooked the garden.

On Sunday morning I took breakfast with Mr. and Mrs. Gerrans and Professor and Mrs. Fine at Gerrans' house, only a few rods away. The Fines went to church somewhere, but Mr. and Mrs. Gerrans and I stayed under the big tree in his charming garden and talked until one o'clock, when it was time for us to set out for Jesus College. There Professor Rhys, another old friend, was to give me a luncheon in the great hall. There were some sixty guests, both men and women, and many of them were the heads of Oxford colleges and other well-known scholars. This old hall goes back to Queen Elizabeth's

time and was grandly beautiful in itself, as well as beautiful by reason of its portraits and decorations. I was particularly glad to meet old Doctor Murray, the editor of the Oxford Dictionary, who was among the guests with Professor Henry Bradley, the English scholar, who was his associate in that editorship. The inevitable speaking followed the luncheon, but, fortunately, it was brief, and we soon withdrew to the gardens where we remained until a passing shower scattered us all.

A little later I went for tea to Provost and Mrs. Daniell of Worcester College. Their house looks out on the larger college garden, and I was able to stroll about and see it all. Later in the evening came a formal dinner given by Provost Daniell in the great hall of Worcester College. A dozen or fifteen Oxford dons were there, and after dinner we withdrew to the common room, where they gave us fruit and wine on their best college plate.

On Monday morning Mr. Gerrans took me to the gown-maker, and I was rigged out in the conventional Doctor of Letters gown made of scarlet broadcloth with slate-colored silk trimmings. So clad, I was marched through the streets to Convocation. I was to be presented by Mr. Farnell, Fellow of Exeter. He and I, with a couple of proctors, were taken to the Divinity School behind the Sheldonian, where we waited until Convocation assembled and acted upon the proposal of the Hebdomadal Council that the degree be conferred. They do not appear to have made any adequate arrangement at Oxford for the awful contingency of the rejection by the Convocation of such a nomination. It is to be assumed that a very long experience has shown them that Convocation always accepts the nominations of the Hebdomadal Council. After a few minutes' waiting another proctor came for us and we were ushered across the Quadrangle and

into the Sheldonian. In the absence of Professor Merry, Rector of Lincoln, then Vice-Chancellor, Principal Rhys of Jesus, the pro-Vice-Chancellor, was presiding. Greatly to my surprise the Sheldonian was very well filled. There was a large attendance of members of Convocation, notwithstanding the fact that it was out of term, and there were a great many guests, not a few of them, as I afterward learned, being Americans. They had read in the newspapers about the special Convocation, and came to Oxford in order to be present. Mr. Farnell immediately began his Latin speech and at its conclusion Principal Rhys conferred the degree of Doctor of Letters in a very flattering formula. I then ascended the steps and took my seat as a member of Convocation with the other Doctors of the University, and was given the privilege of voting on the motion that Convocation do now adjourn. The whole thing was over in fifteen minutes, but it was none the less impressive for that. I was very much touched by it all, for not only was the degree itself one of the most distinguished of academic honors, but the holding of a Convocation out of term to confer that one degree, I have since been told, was then an almost unprecedented event.

The first that I had heard of it all was through a letter which I received from Gerrans about four days before I sailed from New York. Gerrans wrote to say that the Hebdomadal Council had voted to propose me for the degree of Doctor of Letters, and that in view of the fact that I could not be present at any of the stated Convocation days, the Vice-Chancellor had agreed to hold a special Convocation on July 10, if I could come on that day. I cabled back to Gerrans "Accept gratefully."

Among the spectators present at Convocation were President Baker of the University of Colorado, President

Faunce of Brown University and President Swain of Swarthmore College. It was very pleasant to see these old friends and to know that they were there. When I took my seat in Convocation my immediate neighbor was Doctor Osler, who had just come to Oxford from Baltimore as Regius Professor of Medicine.

Next on the program was a luncheon at Robert P. Porter's, and then a boating expedition on the river with tea in the fields, and incidentally in the rain also. I had not seen Robert P. Porter for years until I met him at dinner in London a few days earlier. At one time he was a very prominent statistician and journalist in the United States, and had charge for a time at least of the Census Bureau. He was born in England and became a naturalized American, but retained strong English sympathies and took steps, on returning to England, to regain his British citizenship. I had quite lost sight of him and was interested to find that he was now living in Oxford and serving as editor of the special weekly engineering supplement of *The London Times*. He had a capital company of men at luncheon, most of them men whom I had already met.

I dined that night with Mr. and Mrs. Gerrans, the other guests being Professor and Mrs. Fine, and Professor Francis Brown of the Union Theological Seminary in New York and his wife. Professor Brown was, as usual, passing his summer vacation in Oxford in order to work upon his Old Testament studies.

The next morning was spent quietly in visiting several colleges, and then I went for an early luncheon to the Provost of Queen's, Doctor Magrath. Queen's was the college from which came Myles Cooper, the second President of King's College in New York, and the Provost had taken the trouble to get out the manuscript records for my

inspection. These revealed a good deal of the personal history of Cooper in his connection with Queen's, both before his going to America and after his return to Oxford. I then went back to London, after these very delightful days with my university friends at Oxford.

The invitations to be declined had by this time mounted up into the dozens. There were not hours enough in the day nor days enough in the week, to accept one-tenth of them. Indeed, I had to spend several hours in writing notes of explanation and declination because of the almost too insistent kindness of scores of friends. Anything equal to English hospitality in its warmth and lavishness, I had never imagined. I had always thought that we Americans were the most hospitable people, but the English, when they are once satisfied as to your credentials, go much farther than we do and take much more trouble than we are in the habit of taking.

On Wednesday, July 12, I went to a very interesting luncheon at Willis's Rooms, given by the Princess of Pless in the interest of Potentia, the proposed international organization for the dissemination of accurate news, established for the purpose of promoting friendly and cordial relations between the several nations of the world. The project was one which had appealed very strongly to the late Frederick William Holls and myself when it was first presented to us three or four years earlier by a very extraordinary man, Niels Gron. Gron himself always seemed to me to be a quite impossible person from the angle of quiet, orderly and sane administration. As a promoter, however, he was in a class by himself. I have never seen anything to exceed his ingenuity, his resourcefulness and his energy in pursuit of an idea. Before the warmth of his fancy all obstacles and difficulties melted away, and all his geese were invariably swans. This particular

luncheon was a capital evidence of his skill as a promoter. Undoubtedly, he had suggested the whole thing to the Princess of Pless, but how he got access to her I do not know. She was a most accomplished and beautiful woman, and no one could be better fitted than she to play the part assigned to her. There were about a dozen present at the luncheon. Of these I recall at the moment only the German Ambassador, Count Metternich; George Wyndham, who had shortly before resigned from the Balfour cabinet; and Sir Charles Dilke, whom I had never before seen, but who captivated me at once both by the charm of his manner and by the range and ability of his mind. I heard afterward that our talk about Potentia accomplished a good deal, and while later the whole undertaking went up in smoke, yet its underlying principle was sound beyond a doubt.

It was a great pleasure to meet Count Metternich and Sir Charles Dilke, for both were men primarily interested in foreign affairs, and I had already seen enough of English opinion and of English newspapers to know that one of the chief things to be attended to just then was the development of a better feeling between Germany and England. Whatever personal influence I could exert, either openly or implied, I did exert to this end both in England and afterward in Germany. I did not discover either in England or in Germany any official antagonism to the other nation, but I did find an official uneasiness lest the newspaper antagonism which was sharp and constant, and the popular antagonism which was steadily increasing, should bring about a situation which governments could not entirely control. In my talks with Count Metternich and Sir Charles Dilke I got a good deal of information which was useful afterward in various ways in trying to exert an influence toward a better understanding between their two countries.

On the following day, Thursday, July 13, I transferred myself and sufficient luggage to Lambeth Palace, where I was to be the guest of the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson until Saturday. This three days' visit was full of delight. Lambeth itself is, of course, filled with associations that enthrall the mind and imagination of any intelligent English-speaking person. The location, hard by the bank of the Thames and almost opposite the Houses of Parliament, with its back toward the crowded districts of South London, invited and compelled various reflections on what had been in the world, as well as on what might yet come to be.

On the afternoon of my arrival there was a large garden party, and a thousand persons or more thronged the grounds and strolled about from four o'clock until after seven. Among them I met a good many English friends and some Americans, including the Ambassador and Mrs. Reid and a half-dozen more. The gardens at Lambeth are very beautiful, and it was a keen delight to watch the changing scene.

When I was taken to my bedroom I felt at least a thousand years old, perched high up in that famous old Palace and surrounded by hundreds of objects and associations that went back for a very long time in English history. My windows looked out over the gardens and the Thames, toward the Houses of Parliament. Westminster Abbey was in plain sight, as was the tower of the new Roman Catholic cathedral farther to the west. By turning my head I could see the magnificent dome of St. Paul's. The dull roar of the great city coming as though from afar was always in one's ears, but immediately around about the Palace everything was as green and peaceful as if in the country. The Palace is enormous, and the Archbishop had a very large house party. The triennial dinner of the old Harrovians was about to be held, and

there were gathered at the Palace a great company of Harrow men. In the house party while I was there were Mrs. Benson, widow of the former Archbishop Benson; the Bishop of St. Andrews, who was the Primate of Scotland, and his daughter; a sister and a niece of Mrs. Davidson; the Bishop of Oxford, who was mediæval in face, mind and manner; the Bishop of Rochester; the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of the wittiest and gentlest of men, as he was one of the most consummate of scholars; the President of Trinity College, Oxford, who ever since I first met him had seemed to me a man of unusual force; the Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford; the Head Master of Harrow School; and the members of the Archbishop's staff, the Reverend John Victor McMillan and the Reverend Hyla Holden.

In the old Chapel where, if I remember correctly, Wycliffe and Anne Boleyn were tried, three services were held daily by the Archbishop and his Chaplains. The first was at 8:30 A.M., the second at 1:15 P.M., and the third at 10 P.M. As I was always away at the middle of the day I did not attend any of the 1:15 services, but all of us went to those at 8:30 A.M. and 10 P.M. They were very short and simple, and the completion of the evening service was the signal for the ladies to retire and for the men to go off to the smoking room.

Naturally we had all sorts of good talk, much of it academic in character because of the overwhelming preponderance of university men in the Palace. It was queer to notice how strongly marked were the English academic antagonisms. The Harrow men firmly believed that the sun rose and set in Harrow School, and that Eton was a place of no account whatever. They might have been American college boys debating the relative merits of their respective institutions. One could write endlessly

about the pleasures of a visit to Lambeth and the hearty, open-handed hospitality of the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson. I must content myself with saying that every hour was an hour of enjoyment, and that I look back on the days spent at Lambeth as a never-to-be-forgotten experience. During all my many visits in later years, first to Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson and then to my very dear and honored friend, Archbishop Lang, I have felt very much at home at Lambeth and as if I were meeting and associating with long-time friends.

The following afternoon I went down to Wimbledon Park, where John Morley met me at the station and we walked up the hill together to his home, Flowermead. We spent the afternoon chatting delightfully in his study and garden, and I had one more opportunity to come under the spell of one of the most charming natures and one of the wisest minds I have ever known. John Morley was certainly one of the ablest men of his generation, and to know him and to talk with him intimately was itself a liberal education.

Late that afternoon I returned to London and went out to Weybridge, to spend the weekend. Sadler, who was to be my host, met me on the train and we went down together, arriving in ample time for dinner. The weather was very fine and everything in that quiet Surrey village was peaceful and restful to a degree. Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Wilkinson were of the party and their presence gave me added pleasure. Mrs. Wilkinson was the daughter, by a German mother, of the Crowe, who, with the Cavalcaselle, wrote the well-known *History of Painting*. Spencer Wilkinson was just then one of the leading editorial writers on *The Morning Post*. He was very widely read, and in his quiet way had much to say that was instructive and helpful. His books are the work of a power-

ful mind brought to bear on large questions of public policy and military organization. I found him greatly interested in the history of our American Civil War, and very well posted as to the details of that struggle. He told me that as a boy he had begun to read the story of that war because of his father's keen interest in it. He spoke of the reconstruction controversy in the United States and of not being able to understand fully what it was all about. It was easy to see how difficult it would be even for so well read a man as Mr. Wilkinson to grasp all the constitutional and political aspects of our reconstruction period. So I promised to send him, as I afterward did, the books dealing with that period by my colleagues, Professors Burgess and Dunning, for I knew of no other way in which he could so quickly and so clearly gain a correct idea of that time in our history.

On Sunday morning Fabian Ware came down from London, and in him I found a new face, but an old friend at once. We had tried some years before to get him out to one of the meetings of the National Education Association, and he had promised to come, but just as the time approached he was ordered off to South Africa to undertake some important educational work there and we lost the chance of getting him. In the interval he had distinguished himself greatly in South Africa, and, returning to London, had become the director of *The Morning Post*. He was rather inclined to follow Joseph Chamberlain, but as the owner of his paper was a staunch Tory, both he and Wilkinson found it necessary to use more or less diplomacy in dealing with the problems of the editorial page. We all had a quiet Sunday together, with lots of good talk, and in the course of the afternoon took a long walk through the woods, bringing up on the site of an old Roman camp. It was a great delight to see Sadler in his

own home. He had a modest but comfortable house, with sufficient room for his books and a little garden of his own. Almost the only times that I could really see him were on the occasion of this visit and during the trip together to Manchester, for he was absorbed from Monday morning until Saturday night in making a detailed study of Essex for his great report on the educational resources and opportunities of that county. We all came up to London together on Sunday evening, because Ware and Wilkinson had to go to their newspaper office and Sadler wanted to sleep at Liverpool Street Station Hotel so as to go out to Essex by the first train on Monday morning.

By this time the pressure was becoming so great that I felt it necessary to fix a date for leaving London. The invitations, all of them urgent and all of them attractive, kept coming in at such a rate that I saw clearly, unless I ran away and in short order, I should not be able to get away at all. So, as I wanted to stop for a few days in Paris en route to Germany, I told every one that I was obliged to leave London on the following Sunday, July 23.

Lord Londonderry was anxious to have me come to him up in the north country, and the Bishop of Ripon urged a stop of a day or two as his guest. Half a dozen other men tendered similar invitations, but, once July 23 was fixed as the leaving date, I was able to straighten out my plans for the future and to give a positive answer to all these kindly friends.

Monday, July 17, was a very interesting day. I took luncheon at Stafford House with the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. The Duke of Sutherland had been a fellow-passenger on the *Baltic* and we had had some little talk on shipboard. He was a Leveson-Gower and of course a traditional Whig. At the time of the split in the Liberal party he went with the Unionists, and, now that the tariff

proposals of Mr. Chamberlain had been made, he was a Chamberlainite and a very ardent one. In fact, I was told that Mr. Chamberlain had been clever enough, or cautious enough, to gain the adherence of a large majority of the dukes before launching his policy publicly.

The Duchess of Sutherland was one of the most charming of women. She was, I should suppose, thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of age, and with very unusual mental power. She was keenly interested in literature as well as in education and social reform, and her own books, had they not been written by a duchess, would have been acknowledged as of more than usual merit.

There were a dozen or more guests at luncheon, and I am sorry not to be able to remember them all. Besides the Duchess of Sutherland, the only woman present was Mrs. Whitelaw Reid. The Ambassador was there, as were James Bryce, Lord Esher, Henry Chaplain, Pierpont Morgan, Henry Watterson, I. N. Ford, the London correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, and two or three more. The Duchess was very urgent that I should come to Dunrobin, their place in Scotland, for a visit, which I did later in the summer.

In the evening I dined at Mr. Bryce's, and he had gotten together a very delightful company. It included the Dowager Countess of Carnarvon, the Bishop of Hereford and Mrs. Percival, Sir Thomas and Lady Barlow, Sir George and Lady Reed, Lord and Lady Reay, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. and Mrs. George E. Buckle, the Governor of the Bank of England and Mrs. Wallace, Sir Frederick and Lady Pollock as well as the Bryces themselves. The Countess of Carnarvon is the widow of the Earl of Carnarvon, who was in the Conservative ministry when I was a boy. It was an especial

pleasure to meet Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, for he was indicated, as the saying is, as the next prime minister in the British government. He and I had a good deal of talk and he told me that he thought one of his greatest deficiencies as a leader of the House of Commons would be found in his sense of humor. He fancied that he was not solemn enough to be a successful leader of the House. He was very proud of the fact that he had sat for thirty-four years as a member of the Stirling Burghs. He talked extremely well, and was much interested in what I said about the relations between England and Germany. He called upon me at the Carlton Hotel afterward and I returned his call at his house in Belgrave Square, but, unfortunately, I missed him both times.

The following day, Tuesday, was full to overflowing as men began calling at the Carlton Hotel before eleven in the morning, and kept at it until I had to leave for Waterloo. I had an appointment to go by afternoon train to Clandon with J. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of *The Spectator*. Strachey met me at the train and we journeyed down into the Surrey hills together. His carriage was waiting at the station, and we were soon at his charming house on the Merrow Downs, two miles away. He lived in most delightful fashion. There was ample place for the little ones to play, and his house, part of which was very new and up to date, was exceedingly comfortable. His library was after the same fashion as Morley's and most inviting. We had a long walk over the Downs before dinner and went out to a point from which we could see the old Pilgrim Road from Winchester to Canterbury, over which, before there were any pilgrims, the Romans used to carry tin from the Cornwall mines.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Strachey were very keen on politics, and he was at the moment standing for the Universities

of St. Andrews and Edinburgh as Unionist Free Trade candidate.

At one o'clock on Wednesday I was due at London University to inspect the buildings and to take lunch with the officers. This I did, and then went to Spencer Wilkinson's in Oakley Street for a cup of tea, after which I dined with Morley at the Athenæum.

Morley was very funny about this particular dinner. He insisted that I was seeing too much of bishops, archbishops, dukes and such persons, and that I must see more of the leaders of liberal thought. He was good enough to invite to meet me all of the men who were supposed to be certain of going into the next Liberal cabinet. It was getting late in the season and pretty hot, so that a few of them were out of town, but the company was very delightful and the evening one to be always remembered. In addition to Morley himself, the guests were Lord Tweedmouth, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Robert Reid, Winston Churchill, Augustine Birrell, Lloyd George and Leonard H. Courtney. We talked Liberal politics hard and fast for nearly four hours. Nothing interested me so much as the representation in that company of future ministers of England of two sharply contrasted types of thought. The burning question of the moment was that of the unemployed, and the bill known as the Unemployed Bill was just passing through Parliament as a government measure. It was admitted by all that the social question in general, and the question of dealing with the unemployed in particular, would be the first to be faced by the next Liberal government. The minute we began to discuss this question at close quarters, a sharp cleavage of opinion became apparent. Sir Robert Reid, cool, well-trained Scottish lawyer, formerly Attorney General of England and later Lord Chancellor in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's ministry,

said explicitly that he believed it was the bounden duty of the State to furnish work for the unemployed. Morley and Courtney, both of them strong old-line individualist Liberals, could under no circumstances admit any such view, and the debate waxed warm. Winston Churchill was very clever and rather inclined to side with Sir Robert Reid. Naturally, I kept quiet and enjoyed it all until suddenly Winston Churchill flatly asked what my opinion was. I told him that as I had listened to the discussion the question at issue seemed to me to be this: Is the individual ultimately dependent economically upon himself or upon the State? Put that way, I must hold that his ultimate economic dependence was on himself. Churchill said that that way of putting it was rather startling, and that he might feel obliged to change the view which he had expressed in the course of discussion. I could not help thinking how similar the situation of these two types of Liberals was to that presented by the two types of American Democrats in the United States. Our Democrats, so-called, were then either strong old-line individualists of the Jefferson type, or, to all intents and purposes, socialist Democrats of the Bryan kind. A party so constituted may be strong in opposition, but it is bound to go to pieces if it attempts to carry the responsibility of government. My fear was that with all its admitted ability, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's cabinet would not last unless the two types of Liberals could find some common ground for dealing with such economic questions as that of the unemployed.

It is worth noticing that of the men present at Morley's dinner no fewer than six afterward held office under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Morley himself became Secretary of State for India; Lord Tweedmouth was First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Robert Reid was Lord Chan-

cellor; Augustine Birrell was President of the Board of Education; Lloyd George was President of the Board of Trade; and Winston Churchill was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. They were a most remarkable lot of men and could govern almost anything or any country.

On the day following, Thursday, July 20, I went once more to James Bryce's house in Portland Place for luncheon, where he had arranged that I should again meet Mr. Spender of *The Westminster Gazette*. Spender himself is a most interesting and attractive man. He talks as well as he writes, which is saying a great deal, and he has broad catholic sympathies and a well-trained political judgment. It is rather interesting that his paper, strongly Liberal though it was, was read eagerly by men who counted in both political parties. This was due in part, I was told, to the excellence and correctness of its news, but in part also to the careful and sane "leaders," written by Mr. Spender himself, on current political topics. We three had a long talk together, dealing not a little with the problem presented by the strained relations between the German and the English newspaper press. I got both from Mr. Bryce and from Mr. Spender additional hints as to the best line to take in Germany in order to set forces in motion to allay the ill feeling so far as possible.

In the evening I dined at 33 Pont Street with Charles Waldstein, Slade Professor of Fine Arts in the University of Cambridge, and a friend of his, with whom I think he was living. The other guests included Count Metternich, Sir Charles Dilke and Waldstein's brother, a physician. I was more than ever impressed with Dilke. It made little difference what topic of conversation was suggested—whether it was politics, new books, music or anything else—he always had something to say that was worth hearing.

and he said it extremely well. I was rather amused to hear him develop, at a good deal of length and with much cleverness, the thesis that opera is impossible as a form of art, and that the intermingling of song and speech is of necessity inartistic and unattractive.

On Friday I went for luncheon to Mr. and Mrs. Fabian Ware at their apartment in Queen Victoria Street, where I had a very agreeable time and heard a good deal of interesting political gossip.

That night I dined at the Athenæum as the guest of Mr. Buckle, and he again had brought together a very distinguished company of men. The guests included the Marquess of Londonderry; Sir Edward Poynter, President of the Royal Academy; Sir Rowland Blennerhassett; Alfred Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies; Evelyn Cecil; Horace Everett Hooper; Reginald John Smith; Arthur Bingham Walkley; George Washburn Smalley; Hugh Blakiston; William Flavell Monypenny; Arthur Fraser Walter, the proprietor of *The London Times*; and John Morley.

Mr. Smalley had just arrived from New York and had come for the purpose of talking over with the proprietor and editor of *The Times* the forthcoming Peace Conference at Portsmouth. He was to go back in a day or two on the same ship with Count Sergius Witte of the Russian delegation to that Conference. Smalley told me afterward in New York that on this particular evening I had fractured the British constitution—involuntarily, of course—by accepting a seat at the right of Mr. Buckle, the host, since Lord Londonderry, who was at Mr. Buckle's left, was entitled, as Lord President of the Council, to precedence over almost everybody in the kingdom!

A number of the guests were associated in one way or another with *The Times* itself, and our talk was corre-

spondingly political. It was an intensely interesting evening.

On the following day, Saturday, I had one of the most striking experiences of my English visit. I had promised Mr. Harry Coward of Bristol, who had been in America with the Mosely Commission, that I would meet an Executive, as they called it, of the National Union of Elementary Teachers. So, promptly at eleven-thirty I turned up at 67 Russell Square, where they had a large old-fashioned house as their business headquarters. This organization was in many ways like a trade union, and I heartily sympathized with many of its aims and purposes, for surely in England the elementary-school teacher has had and often still has a pretty hard lot. Assembled at the meeting room were about fifty members of the Executive, including a number of women. After some little business had been transacted I was introduced for a brief speech, and took the greatest possible pleasure in saying to them just the sort of thing that I should have said to a similar gathering at home. Coming from a university officer, however, all this seemed to them new and startlingly significant. They were kindness itself in their reception of what I said, and, after a half-dozen speeches in reply, I was taken off for luncheon by the officers of the Executive. Incidentally, I had the pleasure of meeting Doctor Thomas James Macnamara, of whom I had often heard, and whose articles I had read frequently. He was a member of Parliament, and especially represented the school-teacher influence and interest. He was an able, clever man, with I should suppose a good deal of power of work and a corresponding fondness for play.

At three o'clock I went off to the Railway Hotel at the Liverpool Street Station, where I had promised Sadler to meet the Reverend Honorable Edward Lyttelton, the

new Headmaster at Eton. Sadler was also there and we had a most delightful two hours' talk. I was greatly impressed with Mr. Lyttelton, but even more impressed with the difficulty of his job at Eton when he told me of its problems. He was a man under fifty, I should say, slightly above medium height, slim and with a clear-cut, clean-shaven face, with fine eyes and forehead. He talked very freely of Eton and its difficulties, and asked me a good many questions concerning our American experience. Anxious as he was to improve Eton and to make it a genuine educational institution of modern type, I could see that he felt bound hand and foot by its traditions and by the conditions under which he must work. For example, when we talked of doing something more with the boys in the field of history and modern language, he said it was quite impossible to see how to bring that about, for there were thirty-two Masters at Eton who could teach nothing but Greek, although they could teach that excellently well. It seemed rather a pathetic situation and I feared that the good man might beat his head against the bars for a long time. It was curious to hear, when I was at Lambeth, how persistently the Harrow men there ran down Lyttelton, whose appointment to the headmastership at Eton had only recently been announced. Despite their criticisms, and, acting simply upon my own personal impressions, I should say that he had very many, perhaps all, of the characteristics needed in a strong and successful head of a great English public school.

After we separated, I went way out to the other end of London with Doctor Parkin, the agent of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust. I dined alone with him and his family, and our evening was most pleasant and agreeable.

## FRANCE

The next morning, Sunday, opened rather wet and gloomy, but I traveled down to Victoria and left at eleven o'clock for Paris. The channel crossing was a very wretched one, there being an ugly cross-sea, a stiff breeze and a strong ebb tide. The fast little boat made the run in about an hour and five minutes, but it tumbled and tossed at a great rate. Before seven o'clock I was under the roof of the well-known Gare du Nord, having my luggage examined by a French customs officer, and in a half-hour more I was in my rooms at the Hotel Ritz.

This hotel had been built since my earlier days in Paris, and it had the reputation of being the best hotel in the world. Americans were in evidence everywhere. I knew not fewer than a half-dozen when I went into the restaurant for dinner. In fact, American-English was then heard in that part of Paris about as frequently as French itself.

From some points of view my few days in Paris were not a great success. The city was emptying out very rapidly, for the season was over. In addition, it was very hot and I was quite tired by my strenuous weeks in London. It kept getting steadily hotter for four days, and when I could stand the heat no longer, I left for Germany. Hotel guests were leaving every hour for the mountains or the sea.

During my few days in Paris, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant was kindness itself. He sent his son to the Hotel Ritz on Monday, the day following my arrival, to act as guide, philosopher and friend, if I needed one, and shortly afterward came himself. On the evening of Tuesday, July 25, he had arranged an elaborate dinner at Ledoyen, where he assembled about forty or fifty journalists, men of science, literary men and public men. It was a most

charming evening, despite the heat, and the French hospitality was no less cordial than the English. D'Estournelles made a delightful speech himself, and afterward Liard, the official head of the University of Paris, pronounced what on any other occasion would have to be called an oration. Its simple, eloquent dignity was a remarkable study in style. I spoke briefly and very slowly in English and, as a result, was fairly well understood by them all.

Liard formally invited me to attend the closing meeting for the academic year of the Council of the University of Paris, to be held on the following day. I arrived at the Council Chamber at the Sorbonne shortly before noon, and was immediately taken into the room where the members of the Council were assembled. They rose to greet me, and I was presented individually by Liard. They were a distinguished-looking body of men, and among them were Lavis, the historian, afterward head of the Ecole Normale, and Bonet-Maury of the Faculty of Protestant Theology. After a greeting from Liard, I responded briefly in French and proposed an interchange of publications between the two Universities—Paris and Columbia—which suggestion was immediately acted upon and adopted. They went on with their routine business for some time, and I watched their methods of dispatching it with close attention.

When the sitting came to an end, the entire Council escorted me for an hour or more through the new buildings of the Sorbonne. We visited the classrooms, the library, the laboratories and examined the new mural decorations. Finally, they brought me to the main door and we bade each other good-by. It was a very touching bit of academic courtesy, which I greatly appreciated.

Meantime, I had been seeing a good deal of d'Estour-

nelles, and we had had long talks together about international arbitration and the organization of agencies better to promote international good feeling. We considered various plans for making the several American and European peoples better known to each other, and of laying the foundations for co-operation in the task of building some form of federal world, which seemed to us both an absolute essential, if economic prosperity and international peace were to be brought within the range of practical political action. D'Estournelles was full of zeal for this good cause and untiring in his own personal service as well as fertile in suggestion. On Thursday I took luncheon with him at his house and had the pleasure of meeting his wife and the members of his family.

The heat was beginning to affect me and I did not dare to run the risk of remaining in Paris longer. I telegraphed Professor Burgess, therefore, that I should arrive the next day at Wilhelmshöhe, where he was stopping at the Schloss Hotel. That evening I took the Carlsbad Express, which left the Gare de l'Est at half past seven. Whom should I meet on the platform but Charles A. Moore of Brooklyn, who had just arrived from America and was hastening to Carlsbad, where a member of his family was ill. He and I dined together on the train. I began to feel better as soon as the cooler air of the evening and of the country outside of Paris reached us.

#### GERMANY

Between seven and eight the next morning I was in the big Frankfurt Station, where it was still warm, but not as hot as in Paris. I had not been in this Frankfurt Station since 1890, but it still seemed to me one of the most complete and best equipped public-service buildings in the

world. The railway trip of about four hours to Cassel was very agreeable. At every turn one could not help being reminded of the vivid realism of Eugene Field's poem, "Der Schnellest Zug." We got along well enough while we were in motion, but the stops were not only frequent, but pretty long drawn out. We passed through Nauheim as well as the two university towns of Giessen and Marburg. The country was exceedingly attractive, and time passed rapidly until, a few minutes before one, we stopped at the Wilhelmshöhe Station. Burgess was waiting on the platform and we were soon up at the comfortable Grand Hotel immediately opposite the Schloss, and settled to the satisfaction of any one.

It was well that Wilhelmshöhe had not yet been discovered by tourists, for its charm in great measure lay in its comparative isolation, in its simplicity and in its quiet. Wilhelmshöhe was not a town but a royal domain, the property of the King of Prussia. It used to be the capital seat of the Electors of Hesse. It was built in 1787 and in 1870 was used as the very luxurious prison of Emperor Napoleon III following the Battle of Sedan. The gardens, which were laid out in 1701, have long been regarded as the finest in the world. The only buildings, in addition to the castle itself and its necessary dependencies, were a small well-appointed post and telegraph office, a barracks for the soldiers and this Grand Hotel. In fact, the Grand Hotel was not built as an hotel at all. One of the Electors erected it to hold the overflow from the castle when he had large hunting parties. When, in 1866, the whole domain came into the possession of the King of Prussia, it was found impossible to maintain it all on account of the expense, and, therefore, this outlying building was leased as an hotel. Yet the King kept his hand on it and had it always under control. The entire domain was

under the supervision of a Hofbaurath, who lived at the hotel and kept a sharp eye on the lessee and the management. The Hofbaurath in 1905, Herr Oertel, was one of the most delightful of men, a graduate of the University of Berlin, widely read and widely travelled, and a most agreeable companion. The hotel could not accommodate more than sixty or seventy persons, and its patrons were chiefly well-born and well-educated Germans from northern and western Germany.

The castle itself was attractive without being beautiful and commodious without being too comfortable. It had a superb view down over the city of Cassel, about three miles away, and in the other direction up over the park and mountains which lay just behind it. The slope up those mountains or hills was rather sharp and was covered for miles with most beautiful forest, much of which was beech. There were many charming shade walks or drives laid out in the best German fashion. One very important advantage of the place was its water supply. Herr Oertel was as severe a critic of drinking water as the most anxious American could desire, and the water that he was able to provide was absolutely perfect both for bathing and for drinking. For a quiet, restful spot with opportunity and invitation to plenty of outdoor exercise, Wilhelmshöhe was almost unexcelled. The hotel was about one thousand feet above the sea, and the hills behind, at the top of the park, were about 1200 feet higher. Fortunately, the only English-speaking person there, besides Professor and Mrs. Burgess, was an agreeable Englishman named Young. Therefore, one had plenty of opportunity to use his German and to improve it.

The tramway ran down in about twenty minutes to Cassel where, in addition to the excellent picture gallery, there were very good shops, a capital library and all the

usual facilities of a modern city. It was a clean, quiet, orderly town and altogether attractive.

At Wilhelmshöhe the daily routine was very simple. About one day in two I spent a couple of hours of the morning in the town of Cassel walking about the streets, poking into the shops, and usually joining Professor and Mrs. Burgess at the picture gallery to come home for mid-day dinner. After dinner we used to sit and talk for an hour or two, and then there would be a long walk through the forest with Professor Burgess and Mr. Young. In this way we got plenty of regular exercise and were able to vary the direction and to regulate the distance according to our disposition at the moment. The evenings were passed in reading, although often Mrs. Burgess played the piano for half an hour.

The great excitement was the expected arrival of the Emperor and Empress for their usual midsummer visit of some four weeks. A whole army of servants was at work making the castle ready, weeding roads and paths, mowing the lawns, dredging the ponds and trimming up the trees and flower beds. Finally their Majesties came, and with them a very considerable household. Guards were then placed at the various entrances to the castle grounds and we were no longer able to go through them during our walks. The forest, however, and its miles of roads and paths were still freely open to us. The Empress arrived on Monday, August 7, and the Emperor, who had been inspecting troops and making speeches in the East of Prussia, came on the morning of Thursday, August 10.

On Friday morning there came an imposing-looking official notice from Count Eulenburg, the Hof-Marshall, to say that the Emperor would receive Professor Burgess and me on Saturday, the 12th, at noon, and that frock coats would be the proper dress. On Saturday morning I

was sitting quietly writing at a little before eleven, when a very much excited servant rushed up to say that I was to come to the Palace at once. I said, No, that I was to go at twelve o'clock. The agitated servant, however, said that I was expected right away and that the Emperor's aide was waiting downstairs. For a few minutes there was great scurrying, as I was not dressed for the meeting. In ten minutes, however, we were ready and joined the staff adjutant, who, in full dress uniform, was waiting for us at the door of the hotel. He conducted us past the guards and on to the west front of the castle, where the Kaiser stood alone on the lawn waiting for us. He was swinging a light walking stick and playing with two dachshunds. I presume that we had kept him waiting for a half-hour in all, but he was very gracious and bore us no malice on that account. He wore a sort of Tyrolean hunting suit, in which he had often been photographed and which was very becoming. He was not quite so tall as I had expected to find him, but much stockier and thicker through the shoulders. In fact, in physical build he was very much like Theodore Roosevelt. They both had the same strong, stocky structure of bone and muscle, and the same well-tanned complexion from much exposure to the open air. Their eyes were much alike, too, especially in the alert way in which they travelled about and the intent expression which they took on when deeply interested. The Kaiser came forward and shook hands with us both very cordially, greeting us in English. He spoke English very well indeed and with but little German accent. It did not take him more than a minute to put us perfectly at our ease, and to make us feel like old friends with whom he had much in common.

The Kaiser opened the conversation by thanking us for coming so far to see him, and, then pointing with his hand

to the forest, he said, "This place ought to be especially interesting to you Americans, for all the improvements made here in the Palace and in the Park were paid for with the money which the King of England paid the Electors of Hesse for sending his soldiers to fight your people in the Revolutionary War." Then his whole expression suddenly changed and with a fierce sort of look he said: "That was a terrible outrage! Those Hessians were sold like sheep and had no idea where they were going or what they were to do. I hold it for the glory of my ancestor, Frederick the Great, that he at all events would not let them cross Prussia."

It did not take long for us to plunge into a rapid-fire general conversation—political, social, literary, and educational. All the time we were walking through the park and the forest, Professor Burgess on one side of the Emperor and I on the other, and all of us behaving and talking very much as a group of friends might do at the Century Club in New York. The Emperor had the most amazing information about everything that was mentioned—books, pictures and music, as well as political and social questions. He knew—of course he had been informed—of my special interest in philosophy and told me with great pride of an as yet unpublished book on Kant of which he had been reading the advance sheets that very morning. Some of his sayings were really quite fine and had a distinct literary quality. It would take a book to record them all even if I could remember them.

As a matter of fact, had the Kaiser not been a reigning monarch he might readily have made his mark as a man of letters. The striking character of much that he said in ordinary conversation would have made an enviable reputation for the ordinary man. He was greatly concerned to be well informed in regard to everything

that was going on in the intellectual and scientific life of the German people and he took all possible pains in respect to these matters. If a German author had written a new and important book or if a German man of science had made a new and important advance in his field of knowledge or if a German archæologist had made some striking discoveries in Egypt, in Syria or in Mesopotamia, the Kaiser would instruct von Lucanus, his secretary, to summon the individual who had made this accomplishment to come to Wilhelmshöhe for a night. Then after dinner the Kaiser, sitting in the middle of his group, would cross-question the visitor in the most clever fashion. Before midnight he had gained for himself a very accurate notion of what the book, the scientific advance or the archæological discovery was all about. What is more, the Kaiser never seemed to forget what he learned in these conversations.

In all of my many visits to the Kaiser, of which this was the first, he never mentioned war except with horror at its certain and tragic consequences. Walking one day in the forest at Wilhelmshöhe at a time when the newspapers were discussing the possibility of a war which might have its origin in Asia, the Kaiser used these words:

All this talk of war in Europe is nonsense. No European nation wants to go to war, and none could afford it even if it wanted to. The interests of Germany and the interests of Europe lie in peace.

Frequently the conversation turned on the danger to European prosperity and peace which might be feared from socialism and communism. I well remember these very striking sentences which the Kaiser used when discussing that topic:

Butler, do you know where the next trouble in Europe will come from? It will come from Paris. If you take a Russian Jew and bring him to Berlin to learn theoretical anarchy and then send him to Paris to learn practical vice, he becomes a dough out of which no nation can bake a digestible bread. There were nineteen thousand such persons who went from Germany to Paris last year.

Surely those are very remarkable sentences.

Another matter which greatly interested the Kaiser and which he found it difficult to understand was why the democratic peoples, particularly France and the United States, lagged so far behind Germany in developing those policies which had in view the comfort of the working classes. I told the Kaiser that I had been profoundly interested in my student days to follow Prince Bismarck's original presentation of this subject to the Reichstag.

Very well [responded the Kaiser], why is it then that France and the United States, which are democracies, are in these matters so far behind Germany, which is a monarchy? Why have you in America no workingman's insurance and no old-age pensions? Our doctrinaires here in Germany have always opposed them, but my grandfather started the movement and I have done whatever I could to help it along. You should see the letters which come to me almost every week from men and women who have benefited by these policies, telling me how wretched their condition would otherwise have been. Those letters would melt a heart of stone, but that would mean nothing to a doctrinaire.

Time and again in these after-luncheon and after-dinner chats or during the long walks through the forest, the conversation would range over all sorts and kinds of subjects including education. Referring to my own student days at Berlin, I spoke of the great respect and

esteem in which the Germany of that day held its outstanding scholars.

That has not changed in the least [said the Kaiser]. Harnack is one of our very great men. I am very fond of him. He comes to see me often. In Berlin whenever he enters a room the whole company rises, and those who do not know him ask to be presented. That is the way we honor our scholars in Germany. And [he continued] it is the glory of Germany and the German universities that the universities and the nation are *vis-à-vis*. We do nothing without consulting our scholars and asking their advice. I fancy this is not true in America. Your people do not like advice. They will learn, however, some day that they cannot get on without it. I judge from what I hear that your situation is improving in this respect and that your universities are much more *vis-à-vis* with your people than they used to be.

The Kaiser was also greatly interested in religion and took part personally in the Sunday morning service in the chapel of the Castle, which I always attended.

Man cannot do without religion [said the Kaiser in one of our talks]. He can do without bigotry, but not without religion. We need a great revival of religion in Germany, and I am helping it on as much as I can. It would be a great aid to order and to quiet social development.

The Kaiser had no hesitation in expressing himself frankly as to the great personalities of history. He sharply criticized Hegel, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. He also expressed strong dislike for Wagner's music. Many of his sentences were pithy and unique in their force and insight. He asked a great many questions about President Theodore Roosevelt and said that he admired him very much indeed.

These most interesting talks extended over many meetings and many days. There came a time when I thought

it opportune to present to the Kaiser my notion of what might and ought to be done to bring about a formal interchange of professors between Germany and the United States, particularly with a view to having the fundamental principles of American history, politics and literature presented to the German people. One day I outlined to the Kaiser my plan to this end, which was shortly afterward put into effect through the establishment at the University of Berlin of the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship of American History and Institutions. The Kaiser listened eagerly and was most emphatic and most cordial in his approval of the plan. He said at once that it would be a great improvement on the existing exchange, which had been effected shortly before between Berlin and Harvard and which was rather formal in character. To me the Kaiser's prompt approval of my plan was most gratifying, since I was anxious to have the German people of that day and generation get some direct knowledge and constructive interpretation of the political development and the intellectual life of the American people. At the moment, they had nothing of the sort. I took it for granted that I should then be turned over to some government officials in order to arrange matters of detail, and that after some six or eight months of negotiation the plan would go into effect. But the Kaiser had a quite different notion. He said at once, "How long are you going to stay at Wilhelmshöhe?" I said that I planned to stay another week at least, but that of course I could arrange to stay for as long a time as I might be of any service to him. He at once sent for the chief of his civil cabinet, Doctor von Lucanus, an efficient little man, who had seen a great deal of life and of governmental activity. As soon as Lucanus joined us, I got a delightful insight into the Kaiser's power of con-

centration and his quick grasp of a new idea. He repeated my plan to Lucanus in German with absolute accuracy, although he had never heard of it until ten minutes before. He did not miss even a minor point in connection with it. Lucanus gravely nodded his head and said it was very good indeed. Then the Kaiser quickly said, "Where is Althoff?"—he being the official in charge of the administration of all the Prussian universities. "Althoff," said Lucanus, "is on his holiday at Kissingen." "Telegraph him to come here tomorrow," said the Emperor, "I want to see him and I want him to arrange this matter with President Butler."

At this point I thought it was time to inject a remark, and I said that I was afraid that Doctor Althoff would not feel very kindly disposed toward me if on my account his holiday was disturbed, and a man of his age and distinction brought hurrying over from Kissingen to Wilhelmshöhe. "You need not disturb yourself about that," said the Kaiser with a laugh, "he will like to come, and besides he gets a good *Reise-geld*."

After a little more talk, the Kaiser dismissed me with an *Auf-Wiedersehen*. This was but one of a great number of very memorable talks extending over eight years, which gave me a lasting impression of the Kaiser's strong, vigorous personality. His mental alertness and quickness of apprehension were demonstrated by the fact that when I was explaining my plan for the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship, he could hardly wait for me to complete the details of it. The moment I stopped he said, "Splendid! magnificent! Just the thing! Of course I will favor it."

It will never be possible to persuade me that William II was the war lord that the newspapers persistently represented. He never mentioned war in any of his talks

with me except to decry it, and the whole of his interest was in matters of social progress and educational advantage. That the Kaiser was absolutely absorbed in the happiness, prosperity and prestige of the German people is quite certain. He was keenly sensitive to public opinion and quick to recognize the influences that shape it. For instance, once when we were talking about newspapers and their many abuses, he waxed eloquent, and said that he thought it was very extraordinary that mankind had created so powerful an instrument as the newspaper and yet made no provision either for its control or for having it in competent hands. He went on to point out that the man who wishes to be a lawyer, a physician, a teacher or a civil servant must take a course of preparatory training and pass a stiff examination to show his competence; while, if one wishes to be a journalist, all he has to do is to begin, whether educated or uneducated. He gave a striking illustration of the malicious power often exercised by the press. He said that during the previous winter Berlin had been very much concerned over the fact that in one of the well-known daily papers the dramatic criticism was very sharp and severe, not to say sensational, and that it attacked almost every drama and dramatist that appeared. In fact, in one instance the attacks of this newspaper critic were so violent that the man against whom they were directed took his own life because of disappointment and chagrin. After this a formal inquiry had been made and it was found that these criticisms were the work of a young Jew, nineteen years of age, with no competence or journalistic experience whatsoever. Nevertheless, as the dramatic critic of an important newspaper he had been given a free rein.

Following this conversation an incident occurred which

was most amusing, and illustrated both the characteristics of the Kaiser and some of the apparently unimportant happenings which make trouble between nations. For a number of years I had read regularly Maximilian Harden's weekly journal, *Die Zukunft*, partly because it was excellent discipline in the use of the German language, and partly because it contained from time to time very indiscreet and revealing articles. It so happened that the issue of *Die Zukunft* for August 5 contained a violent and ill-mannered article called "Onkel Eduard" in which King Edward VII was attacked in extremely disagreeable fashion. The article, while unsigned, was quite certainly written by Harden himself. At the time of this conversation with the Kaiser, I was carrying in my pocket a copy of this issue of *Die Zukunft*. The company for luncheon assembled promptly in the drawing room of the Schloss, but the Kaiser himself was missing. A few minutes after one o'clock he burst into the room obviously in a high temper and, looking about, cried out, "Where is Butler?" He had in his hand and was violently shaking a copy of *The National Review* for August, 1905, which, as it happened, contained a savage attack on the Kaiser himself in an article entitled "Candid Impressions of Germany." This, while unsigned, was almost certainly written by the editor of *The National Review*, Leo Maxse, a fierce critic of Germany and the German people. "This is the sort of thing," cried the Kaiser, "which makes so much trouble between Germany and England! Read this disgraceful article!" The Kaiser handed me his copy of *The National Review*. The moment was an embarrassing one, since the whole company was somewhat disturbed by the Kaiser's obvious excitement and was anxious to go to luncheon. Having already read Maxse's article and having in mind that soft answer which turneth away

wrath, I said: "But, Sir, *The National Review* does not represent the people of England. The violence of its editor's frequent attacks on Germany is not supported by the government of England or by any considerable portion of the English people." "Perhaps," exclaimed the Kaiser, "I know that and you know that, but my people do not know that! They take these articles as truly representative of English opinion. How can I keep good relations and peace with people who write articles like that?" and the Kaiser slammed the magazine down upon the drawing room table. My sense of humor was such that I could not help taking from my pocket the copy of *Die Zukunft*. Handing it to the Kaiser, I said: "Sir, please look at this article by Harden. What could be more provocative of English hostility than that?" "Yes," said the Kaiser, "but Harden does not represent German opinion." To this I could not help replying in the Kaiser's own words, "Your Majesty knows that, and I know that, but the English people do not know that." At this the Kaiser broke into a roar of laughter, and we went to luncheon. The episode was over. As a matter of fact, both Maximilian Harden and Leo J. Maxse were trouble-makers, and desired to be such.

We then talked more seriously of the feeling between Germany and England, and the Kaiser was most emphatic in the statement that he did not believe the English government had any antagonism toward Germany. I said that the Liberals were undoubtedly coming into power before long and that they would be even more friendly to Germany than the Conservatives. He asked me what I had heard about the probable foreign minister in the new Liberal administration, and I replied that it would be either Sir Edward Grey or Lord Elgin, and that the one who was not foreign minister would go to the colonial

office. He expressed great satisfaction at this and said that both were good men, Sir Edward Grey in particular.

At this very moment the peace negotiations to end the Russo-Japanese war were in progress at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and I wish that I had known then, as I did later, the following story, for I should have liked to tell it to the Kaiser. George Meyer, the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, sent a dispatch to the President saying that on a given morning he had had an interview with the Czar in order to deliver a personal message from the President. The Czar, on hearing the message, had said, "Mr. Meyer, how do you account for the fact that every time you come to me with a personal message from the President, on the same day I receive a message from the German Kaiser urging the same course of action?" If the Czar said this in seriousness, he was quite without sense of humor.

On Sunday Doctor Althoff arrived and made his headquarters at Wilhelmshöhe. On the following day he was joined by Professor Lexis of the University of Göttingen, chief German authority on university history and administration. Professor Burgess and I at once offered both gentlemen the use of our salon, and they gratefully accepted the invitation. We thereby came to see a good deal more of them than would otherwise have been possible. Lexis could speak some English and understood it quite readily. Althoff could understand very little English and spoke not a word.

Althoff's personality interested me immensely. He had been in the Cultus Ministerium a good many years, having previously been a member of the law faculty at the University of Strassburg. He was then a man of about sixty-five, tall, stout, and with a beaming, good-natured

face, fringed by a gray beard which was of the type that Sir William Harcourt used to affect. He was as cordial and as jolly as possible, and at once entered into the spirit of our undertaking with the utmost good will and complete sympathy. Never did a man more completely belie his reputation than Althoff. He was usually depicted as a cruel, scheming tyrant, who absolutely bossed the whole university system of Prussia. That he was the real head of that system is certain, and that he was a statesmanlike and in every way a competent head, seemed to me clear; but he was without any of those evil qualities which were so often charged against him. He rivalled the Kaiser in the quickness of his appreciation and in the generosity of his approval of our plan for a Theodore Roosevelt Professorship. When it came time to reduce this plan to paper he wrote it out concisely, clearly and completely, without halting or uncertainty. Both Professor Burgess and I enjoyed him greatly, and formed a very real attachment for him during the four days that we were so much together.

On Sunday afternoon came another communication from the Palace saying that we would be received by the Kaiser at half past twelve on Monday, and that we were to remain for dinner at one o'clock with the Kaiser and Kaiserin. This was a very unusual honor and one which we greatly appreciated. Except for formal banquets, the Kaiser very rarely had guests at his table, outside the circle of his household and intimate personal friends.

Once again the adjutant came for us and once again the Kaiser was waiting in the garden. This time he had on an infantry uniform, and had in consequence a more military aspect than on Saturday. He was very chummy and good-natured with Althoff, and we all joked and talked in the most companionable way possible.

I told the Kaiser that I had followed with keenest interest the Berlin School Conference of 1890, which had been called at his instance and before which he made a very impressive opening address. I also told him that I had translated this address into English and published it in one of the early numbers of *The Educational Review*, which I then edited. The Kaiser said: "Yes, I remember that address well, for it got me into lots of trouble. The Rector of my old Gymnasium down here in Cassel, Doctor Hinzpeter, long my tutor, would not speak to me for years after I made that speech, because he thought that I had attacked the foundations of genuine education." We went on to talk of the reform of secondary education in Prussia, and the Kaiser said that the reformed gymnasiums at Altona and at Frankfurt were really due to one and the same man, who had been mayor first of the one city and then of the other. The Kaiser highly approved of these reformed gymnasiums, as did Althoff. Then we talked about the elementary schools and the advances being made in them, until finally the Kaiser slapped Althoff on the shoulder and said: "You have done a good deal for secondary education; now you must hurry up and reform the elementary schools, for these Americans are getting ahead of us."

After a half-hour in the garden, dinner was announced and the Kaiser himself led the way to the Palace. We passed at once into the drawing room, which was a superb room with a great series of windows down to the floor looking out over Cassel. There were assembled the Kaiserin and the members of the household. The Kaiser presented us at once, and after a few moments we went in to the dining room.

We were about twenty in all, and were seated at a long, narrow table. The Kaiser sat at the middle of one

of the long sides of the table, and the Kaiserin immediately opposite. The table being narrow, they were really near together and could converse freely. The place of honor at the Kaiser's right was occupied by the Princess Victoria, a bright-faced little girl of about twelve or thirteen. I followed at the Kaiserin's right, then Professor Burgess at the Kaiser's left, and Doctor Althoff at the Kaiserin's left. Among the other guests were of course Count Eulenburg, the Kaiserin's ladies in waiting, the Kaiser's secretary, court physician, and so on. The talk was very general and very interesting. The Kaiserin spoke English quite as well as the Kaiser, and was most affable and kind. The Kaiser had explained to her the plan for a Roosevelt Professorship, and she was as keen as he was and understood it quite as well. For a woman of her years she had become very gray indeed. In fact, her hair was snow white. It was said that her health had suffered a good deal from treatment to which she subjected herself for the reduction of her weight. She was then plump, but not unduly stout, and really strikingly handsome, much handsomer than any of her photographs would indicate. Dinner was unpretentious and was served like any ordinary family dinner, for the Emperor lived very simply and preferred it so. He ate and drank very little himself, and by preference took his dinner in the middle of the day. His usual habit after dinner was to read for a time, then to take a nap, and after that either to play tennis or to ride, coming back for supper at eight or nine o'clock, after which he went promptly to bed.

When luncheon was over we all followed the Kaiser and Kaiserin into the drawing room, and after a few minutes' conversation they shook hands with us, bowed to the others, and left the room. The rest of the company lingered for perhaps ten minutes more and then broke

up, Professor Burgess and I going back to our apartment. This was on Saturday, August 12.

When, on August 14, Doctor Althoff had secured such formal consents as were necessary to the execution of our plan for a Roosevelt Professorship, he brought his written documents to our salon. There they were duly signed and executed and the professorship was an accomplished fact. It was instituted in the following year by the appointment of Professor Burgess himself, who was Ruggles Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law in Columbia University. A noteworthy succession of American scholars occupied this chair in turn. They included President Hadley of Yale, Doctor Felix Adler of Columbia, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, Professor Charles Alphonso Smith of the University of Virginia, Professor Paul S. Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin, Professor William M. Sloane of Columbia University and Professor Paul Shorey of the University of Chicago. The work of the professorship was then suspended, not unnaturally, because of the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The Kaiser had taken the greatest interest in the work of every one of these professors and had uniformly attended their opening lectures.

At the instance of Doctor Althoff and Doctor Lexis, a Kaiser Wilhelm Professorship was established by the German government at Columbia University. This chair was held by a series of German scholars and men of science of the highest rank, until the outbreak of the war also made its continuance impossible.

Following the war, and on the invitation of Doctor Stresemann, the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship was reinstated and continued until political changes within Germany itself made the academic presentation of American history and politics quite out of the question. The

scholars who occupied this professorship after the war were Professor Frederick J. E. Woodbridge of Columbia University, President George Norlin of the University of Colorado and Professor David P. Barrows of the University of California.

During the days when Doctor Althoff and Professor Lexis remained with us at Wilhelmshöhe we had much interesting talk about German universities. I was especially struck by Althoff's sharp criticism of their system of paying to the professors a large share of the fees received from students enrolled in their several classes (*Collegien-geld*). He said that this system was debauching and debasing the German universities, and that the professors were vying with one another in elementary and popular courses in order to secure a large income from students' fees. He expressed himself unreservedly in favor of our system of paying a fixed salary to the professors and taking all fees into the university treasury. He also approved very highly of many features in which our university organization differed from that of Germany, although of course he saw that the conditions in the two nations were so different that neither could learn very much from the other so far as organization itself was concerned.

On Tuesday, August 15, I accompanied Doctor Althoff and Professor Lexis to the railway station and said good-bye to them with genuine regret, for two finer and more agreeable men one would not be likely to meet.

While at Wilhelmshöhe, I had the advantage of a very pleasant day at Göttingen. Professor Burgess and I made the trip over from Wilhelmshöhe in order that we might see this interesting university town. Burgess himself had studied there thirty-odd years before, and knew every foot of it well. I was interested in it because at about that very same time my uncle, Thomas Chalmers Murray,

who was afterward first Professor of Semitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, was there as a student and had sent me some interesting photographs of the town. We made the trip in little over an hour, and had a chance to walk through the city, visiting the points of interest, inspecting the University buildings, which were not very imposing, and observing the pride that the town took in putting tablets upon the houses where distinguished scholars once lived as students. Among the names inscribed on these tablets were those of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Lothrop Motley, George Bancroft, Edward Everett, George Ticknor, and Basil L. Gildersleeve. Among the distinguished Englishmen whose names were recorded in like fashion were Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles James Lever, and Richard B. Haldane. It might well have also been recorded that Benjamin Franklin visited Göttingen in 1766, when he was studying higher education on the Continent with a view to strengthening what was to become the present-day University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Burgess and I took dinner by invitation with Professor and Frau von Bar. He was a distinguished international lawyer and a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Neither he nor his wife spoke any English, but we got on very well with our German. Burgess's German was always good, and mine was rapidly improving with increasing practice. One thing that struck me about von Bar was his extreme anti-Prussian feeling and the outspokenness of his Guelph sympathies. He talked about the Guelphs more than I should have supposed was judicious, but perhaps he trusted to our discretion and the fact that he was speaking within the walls of his own house. The day was a very agreeable one, and I was glad to have seen the town and the University of

Göttingen. By interesting coincidence, the same George II who gave the charter to King's College, now Columbia, was the founder of the University of Göttingen. Göttingen antedates Columbia by about ten or twelve years.

By this time it was necessary for me to think of returning to London, although I was genuinely sorry to leave Wilhelmshöhe, where the quiet, restful, regular life had done and was doing me the greatest possible good, as well as bringing me constantly in close and friendly association with the Kaiser. Shortly before noon on Saturday, August 19, I left Cassel for London. I broke the journey, however, at Cologne, partly in order to revisit its noble cathedral and partly in order to see the enormous industrial development of the Westphalian section of Germany. Villages had become towns and towns cities since I last saw that part of the country.

#### SCOTLAND

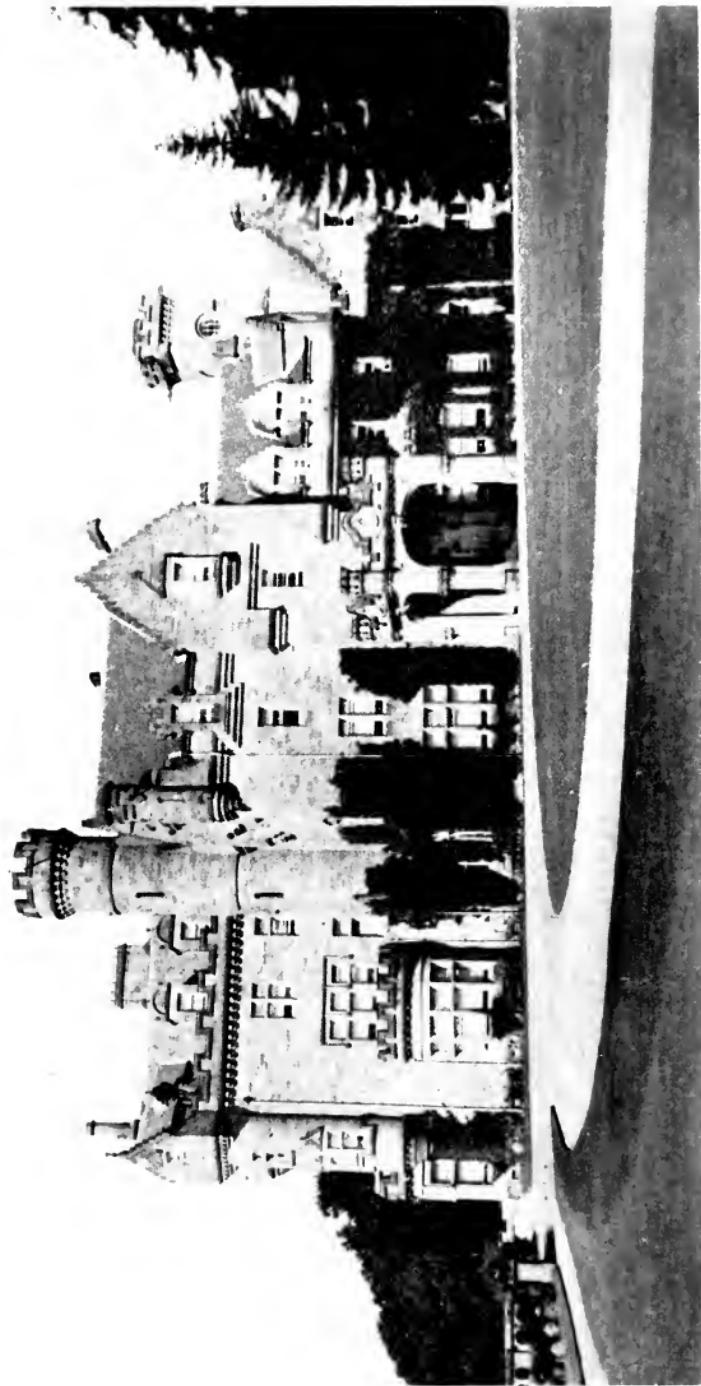
Because of an exceptionally rough Channel crossing I was late in reaching the Carlton Hotel, and when I arrived, Fabian Ware of *The Morning Post* and Michael Sadler, both of whom I had asked to dine with me, were waiting. We had a most agreeable dinner together and a good talk, more particularly about the German and English relationships of which I could now speak with considerable knowledge. I urged Ware especially to try to soften the tone of *The Morning Post* and to do all in his power to lead English public opinion into friendlier paths. It was a delightful evening and I was sorry when my guests had to go, the one to his editorial office and the other to the Station Hotel at Liverpool Street for an early morning visit to Essex, where he was still working upon his report on its county schools.

On the following day I had J. St. Loe Strachey of *The*

*Spectator* for luncheon and for two long hours I talked Germany to him. He was one of the most charming and delightful of men and very able, but one not easily moved from a path that he had marked out for himself. He insisted that he was not unfriendly to Germany, but that he was very critical of the Kaiser. I tried to reassure him on this point, and think I did have some influence with him. At all events, I greatly enjoyed the talk.

I then started for Scotland, where I was joined on the following morning at the Inverness station by Mr. and Mrs. John Morley, and we journeyed on together to Skibo, where we were to be guests of Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie for some little time. Morley was very keen to hear all about my German visit, and asked no end of questions about the Kaiser. At the door of Skibo, Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie greeted us with the utmost cordiality and soon had us duly installed as members of the large and interesting house party.

It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful place than Skibo or one better and more hospitably managed. Skibo is a Norse name and is said to mean "The House on the Promontory." While the present house is modern, there has been a castle on that same site for over seven hundred years. It was the summer residence of the bishops of Caithness before the Reformation. Mr. Carnegie appeared at his very best in those surroundings. One of his pet remarks was that if Heaven was very different from Skibo, then somebody had made a very great mistake. One of the guests told me that she could tell that Skibo had been made over and occupied by an American, if for no other reason than because of the luxurious bathrooms. The shooting and fishing were capital, and the golf links were very attractive and interesting. The rule of the house was the utmost freedom, and after breakfast each



Skibo Castle, the residence of Andrew Carnegie at Dornoch, Sutherland, Scotland



morning the party separated to do whatever each wished for the day. There was one trap to take men to the shooting, another to take them to the fishing, and a third to take them to the golf links. Those who wished to walk could walk, and those who wished to drive could drive. Those who wished to do nothing but sit about the house and read could do that. One came back for luncheon or not as he chose, but of course the whole household re-assembled at dinner, and after dinner there were a couple of hours of excellent talk. Mr. Carnegie always brought together a very striking company of people, not a few of them Americans, and all of them having some claim to one's interest and respect.

Much of my time was spent with Morley, of whom I grew fonder every hour. We walked a good deal together, and had the longest and most intimate talks. He certainly had a well-furnished mind if ever there was one, and to start him going on any literary or political topic was to open a fountain of information and stimulus. I only wish I could have remembered one one-hundredth of the clever and brilliant things which he said. When we were talking about Matthew Arnold, whom he always called Matt Arnold, he said that one of his striking characteristics was his "urbane insolence," but that when Home Rule appeared above the horizon his insolence lost its urbanity. He also quoted a pretty good remark of Freeman's, comparing John Richard Green and Bryce. It seems that Freeman said that Green had *σοφία*, not *φρόνησις*, while Bryce had both.

Morley also gave me a most amusing account of his appointment to Gladstone's Cabinet. He said he had no possible notion of being in the Cabinet and was greatly surprised when Mr. Gladstone sent for him to come to Carlton Terrace at twelve o'clock one day in June, 1886,

and bluntly offered him the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, at that moment the most difficult and the most conspicuous post in the British government. Home Rule was in the air, parties were divided and dissolving, and no one knew what was to happen. All this period, by the way, is described with amazing vivacity and interest by Winston Churchill in the life of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, which was published a little later.<sup>1</sup> Morley was greatly taken aback by Mr. Gladstone's invitation, and said that he must think it over and take advice. He promised to return at five-thirty that same afternoon and give his answer. Straightway he posted off to Joseph Chamberlain, who had not yet broken with Mr. Gladstone, although he did so a few months afterward, and Chamberlain advised him by all means to accept. Morley took other advice which was not so unequivocal. Then he went to the Athenæum Club and after reflecting for an hour or two put down on paper seven reasons why he should not accept the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. Promptly at five-thirty he presented himself again to Mr. Gladstone. "I have here," said Morley, "seven reasons, Mr. Gladstone, why I should not accept your most complimentary proposal." Mr. Gladstone rose, shook him heartily by the hand, took his paper containing the seven reasons and, without reading it, said, "I am delighted, my dear Morley, to have your acceptance." That was all there was of it, and Morley began his career in that stormiest of Cabinets.

One very interesting visitor at Skibo was Thomas Shaw, then a leading barrister at Edinburgh who afterward became Lord Craigmyle. He was a competent politician and a strong Liberal, and was in Sir Henry Campbell-

<sup>1</sup>Winston Spencer Churchill, *Lord Randolph Churchill* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906). 2 vols.

Bannerman's government as Lord Advocate for Scotland. His talk was exceedingly interesting and brilliant and contributed no little to our pleasure and amusement. Unfortunately, his visit was cut short by a complication attending the trial of two sons of Henry Phipps, who had been indicted for shooting a gamekeeper, and who were about to be tried in Edinburgh.

My visit at Skibo was interrupted for two days and two nights while I went over to Dunrobin to visit the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. The drive over was a delightful one of some thirty miles, being for a large part of the way along the sea, then around one or two heads into the fishing village of Dornoch, and on to Dunrobin. Dunrobin was extremely interesting, for while there had been modern improvements effected in it, not a little of the castle, especially to the exterior view, was old, even mediæval. At one time, I believe, it could be approached only by sea, and then must have been almost impregnable. It was high up above the water toward which the ground sloped sharply down. It faced to the south across an arm of the sea, and the park was so protected by high hills on the north that the southern exposure made it possible to have a most charming Italian garden at the water's edge. There was a perfect profusion of flowers such as one would never expect to see in that far-northern spot. The Duke and Duchess were most gracious and kind, and I greatly enjoyed my visit. They had an interesting—indeed, a very imposing—house party, including the Duke and Duchess of Westminster, Lady Cromartie, Sir Francis Bertie, the English Ambassador to France, and the Australian pianist, Percy Grainger. Mrs. Cornwallis-West was also there. She, of course, was formerly Lady Randolph Churchill and therefore Winston Churchill's mother. The most distinguished guest was

Prince Arthur of Connaught, the King's nephew. He was a bright-faced, well-appearing young man of twenty-two or twenty-three. I had some delightful talks with the Duchess of Sutherland, who was certainly a clever woman and very ambitious to be of use in the world. The Duke was keenly interested in Chamberlain's fiscal policy, but otherwise rather easy-going.

On returning to Skibo, I found that the house party had changed somewhat, but was no less interesting than before. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Davidson had arrived, as had Principal and Mrs. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, a Congregational theological college in Oxford.

Finally, on Thursday, August 31, I started south. The trip was a long and dreary one, for the train was slow, the stops many and the weather rather dismal. I arrived a little after nine o'clock in the evening at Dundee. Here I spent two very delightful days at Binrock, as guest of the Boase family, with whom I was connected through my step-grandfather, John Balfour Meldrum. One day was spent at St. Andrews, with whose ancient university some one of my many family connections in Scotland had been associated, either as professor or student, from the time the university was founded in 1411. On Saturday we went out over the Carnoustie golf course, after which I took the night train south, reaching King's Cross on Sunday morning.

That afternoon I went out to Wimbledon Park to dine with Morley, who had the French Ambassador at Washington and Madame Jusserand as his guests. At the risk of using too many superlatives, perhaps no evening of the whole trip was more enjoyable than this one, for Morley and Jusserand each stimulated the other in the most delightful fashion.

The remaining two days in London were devoted to incidental happenings, and finally on Wednesday the long steamer train pulled out of Euston, laden with passengers for New York on the *Baltic*. The trip home was pleasant but uneventful. So ended a truly memorable summer and one that was filled with many different kinds of activity and delight.

From those days to this, I have looked back upon that summer with deep satisfaction. It was one in which many old friendships were strengthened and enriched, and in which many new friendships were made that have since played a large part in my life. What impressed me most was the high and disinterested point of view of very many of the men and women whom I so intimately met. In their conversation there was an almost complete absence of ordinary gossip, of scandal or of talk about purely material and unimportant things. These men and women—whether English, French, German or Scottish—were, nearly all, of fine mind and broad intellectual outlook. They were familiar with the best literature of the world and most of them cared mightily about what was going on, not only in their own country, but in every part of Europe. In respect to the United States, they were, while interested, vague and uninformed as to our country's history, its literature or its intellectual life. A few of those whom I met had had the advantage of personal contact with Americans, which had given them a special interest in the United States. As a rule, they were all eager to hear of America and asked many searching questions concerning our nation's history and our nation's life. Not many of them had ever been across the Atlantic.

There was constant evidence both in England and in Germany of distinctly strained relations between the two

peoples. These did not appear to be the outgrowth of any special event or any particular policy. They were largely psychological and had their origin, I suspected, in those personal dislikes between members of the royal families of Great Britain and of Germany which showed themselves so plainly after the death of Queen Victoria. The opportunity came to me, not only in 1905, but in each year thereafter until 1912, to do all that an American visitor could to improve these strained relations which, the longer they continued, seemed to be the outgrowth of nothing that was really important. Differences of personal temperament and of point of view were plainly the moving causes of this most unfortunate international feeling. When, later on, they were strengthened by economic and political ambitions, they came to play a large part in bringing about the distress which overtook the world in the Great War of 1914-18.

It was during this first of several annual visits at Wilhelmshöhe that I caught sight of the amazing personality and powerful influence of Baron Fritz von Holstein of the German Foreign Office. Indeed, some of the things which came to my attention were so startling and so unbelievable that I have never felt at liberty to mention them. I should not do so now were it not for the fact that they are described in fullest detail in a most unusual volume published some three years ago.<sup>1</sup> That man's personal and official history is quite as remarkable as that of any individual who has ever been prominent in shaping the international policies and relations of a great government. Holstein knew everything that was to be known about the work of the German Foreign Office, whether officially recorded or kept wholly confidential. For thirty years he

<sup>1</sup>George Sylvester Viereck, *The Kaiser on Trial* (New York: The Greystone Press, 1937, 514 pp.).

served with and under Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe and von Bülow. His personal relationships with the Kaiser were practically non-existent, and his bitterness toward the Kaiser, as his official service drew to a close, was quite unbelievable. The whole story will some day become public knowledge.

When these three memorable months came to their end, my resolve to devote as much of my time and strength as was possible to the improvement of international relations, and to aid in laying foundations for permanent peace, became not only stronger, but predominant. That resolve has neither changed nor weakened from that day to this.

### III

## INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND PEACE

THE foundation for my lifelong interest in international relations was laid by the experiences of my student days in Germany, in France and in England. I was fascinated by those peoples and their civilization, by their literature, their science and their art, as well as by their social, economic and political life and institutions. These I came to know better and better as the years passed, and my concern for international understanding and international co-operation steadily increased, particularly after the memorable summer of 1905. It was not possible for any one who had my experiences so early in life to look upon any civilized nation as in isolation from the rest of the world.

When, in 1889, Governor Green of New Jersey, learning that I was going abroad for the summer, quite unexpectedly gave me a commission to act as the official representative of the State of New Jersey at the International Exposition then being held in Paris, the door was opened to still another series of helpful and most interesting contacts. At that time I came to know many public officials and many influential representatives of French industry, commerce and finance.

During all these early years, it was my constant habit, whenever opportunity offered, to sit in the gallery of the

House of Commons as well as in that of the Chamber of Deputies to hear debates on important questions of the moment. In that way I came to get some knowledge of practically all the personalities who were then leading the public life of Great Britain and of France, as well as far better understanding than would otherwise have been possible of the character and importance of the public questions which I heard them discuss. An amusing incident illustrative of all this occurred on that day in June, 1936, when I had been given a seat in the diplomatic gallery in the House of Commons to hear the debate which was then to take place on the proposed imposition of sanctions in connection with the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. As I approached the entrance to the House of Commons, I met my old friend Sir Robert Horne, now Viscount Horne, who hailed me with these words: "Well, my friend, there is certainly something important going on today, for you never fail to be here when one of our important questions is under debate."

All these experiences, following closely one upon another, strengthened my fundamental convictions and ideals, and prepared the way for what I believed to be a true understanding of the really magnificent appeal to the nations of the world made in the name of the Czar of all the Russias in August, 1898. Now, for the first time in centuries, the door seemed to be open to the building of a new federation of civilized nations which would make possible prosperity and peace for them each and all.

Together with my friends, Frederick W. Holls, who became a member of the American delegation to the Hague Conference which followed, Albert Shaw, editor of *The Review of Reviews*, and Theodore Roosevelt, just elected Governor of New York, I studied carefully all the questions involved and united with them in urging Presi-

dent McKinley to name the strongest possible delegation to represent the government and people of the United States. He chose most excellent men. At their head was Andrew D. White, who had been Ambassador in Berlin and was highly respected by European statesmen, and Seth Low, then President of Columbia College. The secretary of the delegation was Frederick W. Holls, himself, who was destined to play a controlling part in saving the conference from futility. The story of the conference has been told in fullest detail by Mr. Holls.<sup>1</sup> The truly epoch-marking invitation which summoned that conference still remains, unhappily, a prophesy.

It was in connection with the work of this first Hague Conference that I met Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, a Senator of France. He became my intimate friend and adviser during the rest of his life, and was responsible for much that I found so interesting and so important during my many visits to France and to French statesmen in the years that followed. Together we founded in 1905 the pamphlet publication known as *Conciliation Internationale*, which in 1907 gave way to *International Conciliation*. This was published until 1924 by the American Association for International Conciliation, of which I was president, and then it was taken over by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This publication has now continued for more than thirty years. It has long been an indispensable source of information and of reference for international happenings and the chief international document of a full generation. It is read and referred to in almost every country in the world. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant himself became the administrative head of

<sup>1</sup>Frederick W. Holls, *The Peace Conference at The Hague* (New York: Macmillan, 1900).

the Carnegie Endowment's work in Europe and served it with great devotion during the remainder of his life.

In England I had an equally wise and devoted friend in Philip Stanhope, Lord Weardale, who was untiring in his work for better international understanding. As chairman of the British delegation to the meetings of the Inter-parliamentary Union, and because of his intimate knowledge of the statesmen and public problems of the continental countries, he had an influence and an importance of greatest significance and value. Another English friend and fellow-worker from those early days is Francis W. Hirst, who after a brilliant career at Oxford was for a decade editor of the London *Economist*. As an outstanding authority on matters of economic and monetary policy, Mr. Hirst has been an invaluable influence in the cause of international understanding and peace.

In the United States the rising tide of public interest in international relations was well demonstrated by the remarkable success of the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration, over which I had the honor to preside, except in 1908, each year from 1907 to 1912, inclusive. These conferences were the result of the foresight and generous hospitality of Albert K. Smiley of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House in Ulster County, New York. Each May he assembled a group of several hundred representative men and women who were his guests for a number of days during which this important conference was held. My several presidential addresses are published in my book called *The International Mind*.<sup>1</sup> It was in that volume and shortly afterward that I offered the definitions of the International Mind and of Peace, which have since been translated into at least a dozen different languages.

<sup>1</sup>*The International Mind: An Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912).

Looking back over the thirty years which have followed, I have no desire to make any change in these definitions. The International Mind I defined in these terms:

The international mind is nothing other than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

Of Peace itself I offered this definition:

Peace is not an ideal at all; it is a state attendant upon the achievement of an ideal. The ideal itself is human liberty, justice, and the honorable conduct of an orderly and humane society. Given this, a durable peace follows naturally as a matter of course. Without this, there is no peace, but only a rule of force until liberty and justice revolt against it in search of peace.<sup>2</sup>

In going over the record of these Lake Mohonk Conferences, it is extraordinary how much vision was there made evident. It is more than pathetic that that vision is still waiting for fulfilment.

When, in 1910, I had persuaded Andrew Carnegie to establish the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the way opened for well-organized and systematic education of public opinion throughout the civilized world. Mr. Carnegie selected a most admirable Board of Trustees, of which Elihu Root was President. The work of the Endowment was set up in three Divisions—Inter-course and Education, International Law, and Economics and History. The proposed plans of work were submitted to statesmen and leaders of public opinion in a dozen

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup>*A World in Ferment: Interpretations of the War for a New World* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), p. 8.

lands, and their most valuable suggestions and criticisms were incorporated in the plans as finally approved by the Trustees of the Endowment.

All this had hardly been accomplished when the Great War broke. Since, until peace was re-established, the Endowment could not go forward with its work as outlined, the Trustees husbanded their resources and, when the war was over, were able to use these funds for relief and reconstruction in Europe in ways which made a profound impression upon world opinion. These included the re-building of the library at Belgrade in Serbia, of the library of Rheims in France and of the library of the University of Louvain in Belgium. They included also the reconstruction of the Commune of Fargniers in the Aisne, selected for the Endowment by the French government as a commune which had suffered most severely because of the war. The work of rebuilding these libraries and of reconstructing this commune is described in fullest detail, accompanied by plans and photographs, in my reports as Director of the Carnegie Endowment for the years 1921-1926.<sup>1</sup> The impressive ceremonials which accompanied the laying of the cornerstones of the new library buildings at Rheims and at Louvain and the acceptance by the French government of the reconstructed civic center of the Commune of Fargniers are described elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Following the war, the Trustees caused a new study to be made of the wisest methods to be followed in the execution of Mr. Carnegie's great trust. They decided that the Endowment should not become a mere distributing center of money to other and unrelated organizations with policies for which the Trustees of the Endowment could

<sup>1</sup>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: *Year Book*, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, Washington, D. C.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 111-121.

not be responsible, but that they should study and adopt a plan of action by the Endowment itself.

After several months of careful study, the plan was adopted of undertaking to educate world opinion through the activity of the three existing Divisions—those of Inter-course and Education, of International Law, and of Economics and History—and the methods of work to be followed were set out in detail. This plan was sent to two hundred and eight leaders of world opinion in many lands—prime ministers, foreign ministers, diplomats, men of finance, of industry and of commerce, economists and international lawyers. Of the replies received, two hundred and seven were warmly commendatory and agreed that the very best course for the Trustees to pursue was to go along the lines that they had marked out. One reply stated that nothing could be accomplished by the method proposed and that there was only one way to reach world peace, which was to accept, to preach and to teach the doctrine of socialism. The name signed to that recommendation was J. Ramsay MacDonald, afterward Prime Minister in the government of Great Britain. At that time he placed himself on record as the one protagonist of socialism as a cure for war.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant was able, owing to the depreciation of the franc and to war conditions, to buy for the Endowment the excellent building in Paris which became its European headquarters. From that building the work in Europe has been planned and carried on for nearly twenty-five years. The admirable European library of the Endowment is in that building. There the American University Union occupies rooms, and almost daily conferences, lectures and discussions on some phase of international relations are held. These are heard and participated in by scholars and students not from France alone

but from many different lands. The death of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant in 1924 deprived this work of a most effective and successful leader.

It did not prove to be easy or even possible to organize in France or in Germany or in Italy the International Relations Clubs which are so striking a part of the Endowment's work in the United States, in Great Britain and in many other countries. These are clubs of students and faculty advisers which meet at frequent intervals to discuss questions of international interest and importance, to hear lectures on these subjects and to read books of significance regarding all such matters. These clubs were obviously suspected by the governments of the Continental countries as possible sources of disturbing propaganda. Over a thousand of these International Relations Clubs are now to be found in the United States, generally in the smaller institutions of learning, colleges and high schools. They usually meet once every two weeks for the study and discussion of events of international significance and of publications furnished by the Endowment. From time to time the Endowment is able to send them a distinguished lecturer, either an American or a visitor from a foreign land, to speak to them and to answer questions which they may wish to ask. It also sends speakers to address the regional conferences, of which there were twelve held during the academic year.

In addition to this work in the United States and the British Isles, there are some hundred and fifty Clubs in colleges and universities of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, India, China, Japan, the Philippine Islands, and throughout the Latin-American countries. The principles underlying the Club work are essentially the same throughout the world, but certain adaptations are made to meet varying conditions. Particularly noteworthy

is the manner in which Chinese students have carried on their scientific study of international affairs in the midst of the chaos of war.

Besides these International Relations Clubs there are over nine hundred International Mind Alcoves in public libraries in small communities in the United States. These consist of books—thirty, forty, fifty, sometimes one hundred in number—which are chosen because they give an authoritative account of the characteristics, the geography, the history, the literature, the products and the life of other peoples. There are sometimes included in these Alcoves works of fiction which deal in interesting fashion with the psychology and habits of other people than our own.

At the very beginning of its work, the Carnegie Endowment organized an Inter-American Section of the Division of Intercourse and Education, which has had excellent co-operation from South American countries, particularly Argentina by reason of the helpful work of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano at Buenos Aires. The Carnegie Endowment has put into the high schools and colleges throughout Latin America Spanish translations of standard textbooks on the government of the United States and works of our American literature, which have made an immense impression on the rising generation of Latin Americans. One book in particular has had wide use through Central and South America and has produced a marked effect. This book is notable for its simplicity and directness, and for a Latin American it is particularly important since it carries the weight of the name of its author, who was once President of the United States. Thousands of high school and college students in Central and South America have for years past been studying Benjamin Harrison's admirable exposition of the

fundamental principles of our government, the title of which in the Spanish edition is *Vida constitucional de los Estados Unidos*.<sup>1</sup>

The work of the Carnegie Endowment in Australia, under the direction of Professor Percival R. Cole of the University of Sydney, has long been most efficient. Its influence there is also exerted chiefly through colleges and universities and through organized commercial and industrial bodies.

Conditions in Japan for several years past have made successful prosecution of the Carnegie Endowment's work increasingly difficult, but neither in Japan nor in China has work been wholly discontinued because of the conditions which now prevail in those countries.

On June 23, 1914, I had the very great honor to be invited to speak before the Groupe Parlementaire d'Arbitrage International, assembled in the Senate Chamber at the Palais de Luxembourg. In this speech, which after some introductory remarks in French was delivered in English, I pointed out that the recent wars in the Balkans had once more demonstrated the futility of treaties and of formal conventions as to the laws of war unless such treaties and such conventions rest upon and are supported by an intelligent and determined public opinion. This public opinion must be strong enough to compel the enforcement of such treaties and the adherence to such conventions at all hazards in opposition to outbursts of popular passion and of national chauvinism. The nations of the world must find a way so to unite their authority as to make the enforcement of treaties practicable. At the same time I pointed out that there were many evidences of progress toward the judicial and orderly settlement of

<sup>1</sup>Benjamin Harrison, *This Country of Ours* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901).

international differences. As instances I cited the long-standing and difficult disputes between Great Britain and the United States over the Newfoundland fisheries and the troublesome questions arising therefrom. These had been finally and satisfactorily settled by an international court of justice, the Hague Tribunal, under the presidency of an eminent Austrian jurist, Professor Lammash. At that very moment another court of arbitration presided over by a Frenchman, M. Fromageot, was sitting at Washington for the purpose of inquiring into and settling a large number of private claims affecting citizens of the British Empire and citizens of the United States. I found a third encouraging fact in the helpful and kindly mediation tendered by the great Latin republics of South America—Argentina, Brazil and Chile—in respect to the unfortunate differences which had arisen between the government of the United States and the government of Mexico. I said that the entrance of these three nations into the conduct of international affairs, on so high a plane and with so noble a purpose, was itself an occurrence of the greatest promise and significance.

The argument which I developed was that these actions of governments in respect to international business were the outcome of an enlightened and sympathetic public opinion, and that the development of that type of opinion must be the immediate and the permanent objective of every practical worker in the cause of peace. Illustrations were drawn from the development of international trade and commerce in recent years and, in particular, attention was called to the long-standing and excellent working of the international postal system. This, I said, might be taken as a type of the way in which many forms of international business could be intelligently and peacefully conducted. I invited the attention of my hear-

ers to the controlling part played in human affairs and in international policies by the feelings or emotions of men. Whatever may be the strength of their intellectual convictions or the force of their wills, men's actions are, in the last resort, dictated or directed by feeling. It seemed to me essential, therefore, that to carry forward these constructive policies of international friendship and peace we must develop those feelings of sympathy, of co-operation and of genuine appreciation and understanding which would reflect the heart of the world. If we are to instruct the world's intelligence and to accomplish the direction of the world's will, we must first reach the world's heart.

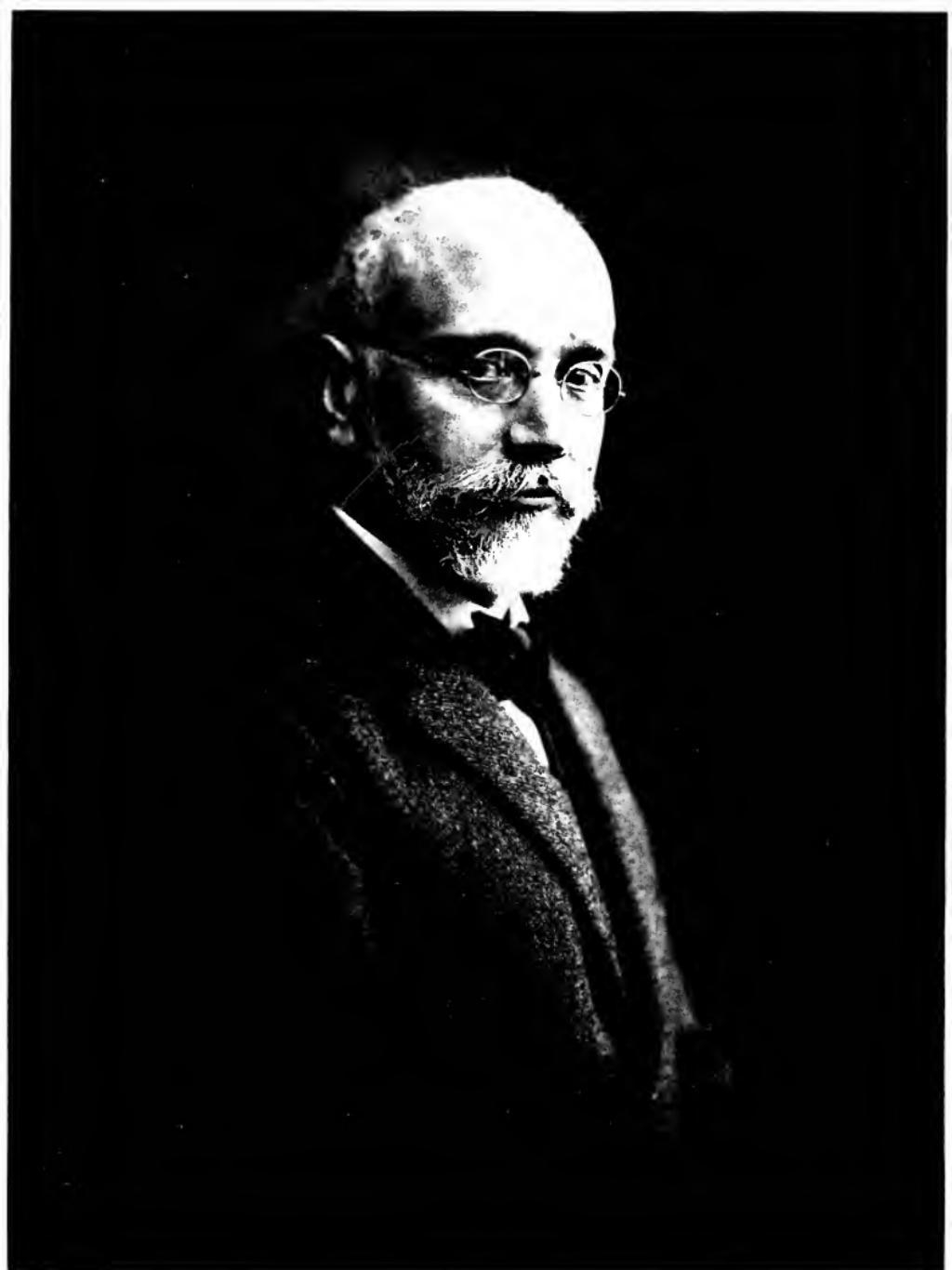
The Richard Cobden Lecture, which it was my good fortune to suggest, is delivered in London each year under the auspices of the Dunford House Association [Richard Cobden Memorial]. The aim of the lecture is to present from the largest and most generous point of view the underlying principles of that international economic co-operation which must be part of any permanent foundation for a peaceful world. The name of Richard Cobden and his teachings grow more important, and not less so, as the years pass. That economic nationalism which is now far more powerful than it was in Cobden's time is the chief obstacle to national prosperity as well as to international peace. Under such circumstances it is most important to recall the name of Cobden and the doctrines which he taught and to interpret them in the light of the economic and political conditions which now face the world.

The first Richard Cobden Lecture was delivered in 1929 by Sir Charles Mallet, and I had the honor to deliver the second lecture on May 7, 1930. The subject which I chose for discussion at that time was "Nation-

Building and Beyond."<sup>1</sup> My aim in this Lecture was to emphasize the fact that Richard Cobden, more than any man who wrote and spoke in the nineteenth century, saw and understood the shifting emphasis from political theory to economic interest. Understanding this change in what may be called the center of political gravity, Cobden never ceased to point out how sound political theory and economic interest could be reconciled in order that both might contribute to the greater satisfaction and the happiness of man and to the peace of the world. As I remarked at that time, it is easy enough to say these things, but what is being done to bring them about? This was the emphasis of the Lecture. Once again I used the experience of the people of the United States and turned as before to Alexander Hamilton's classic Report on Manufactures, submitted to the House of Representatives in 1791. Today, ten years after the delivery of that Lecture, I see no reason to alter its argument.

As an illustration of the sort of important work which the Carnegie Endowment has been able to do without attracting public attention, there may be named the part taken in promoting the economic co-operation between Greece, Turkey and the other Balkan States, important progress toward which resulted from the Fourth Balkan Conference held at Saloniki in November, 1933. In the discussions of this Conference the development of communications, collaboration in social and hygienic policy, intellectual rapprochement, a partial Balkan customs union and an inter-Balkan Chamber of Commerce were all carried a long way forward. A most important result of this undertaking was the signing on February 9, 1934, at Athens, of the Balkan Entente Pact by the governments of Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. A

<sup>1</sup>See *The Path to Peace* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 217-239.



*A Monsieur*

*Nicholas Murray Butler*  
*mon ami dévoué*

*Paris*  
*le 1 Mars 1928*

*E. Venizélos*

ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS, 1864-1936  
Prime Minister of Greece, 1910-1920, 1928-1932



full record of the work and results of this useful Conference is contained in my Annual Reports as Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment.

My relation to this interesting and important work was the result of a statement made to me by M. Venizelos during a talk which we had in London in the summer of 1926, when he and Mme. Venizelos were the guests of their friends Sir Arthur and Lady Crosfield at their charming home at Highgate. Venizelos said to me that the time had come when the Balkan States were ready for an economic pact that would lay the foundations for increased political stability. He added that, if he were to get up in the Greek Parliament and ask for an appropriation to meet the expenses of the necessary international conference, some one radical member of the Greek legislature would almost certainly make an unbridled attack upon either Turkey or Bulgaria and that more harm than good would be done by his proposal. He went on to say that if, however, the money to meet the expense of the international conference could be had elsewhere so that he would not have to call upon the Greek Parliament for an appropriation, he believed great progress could be made. He talked the matter over with me for some time, and as a result the Carnegie Endowment provided, without any publicity, the administrative cost of the Balkan Conferences. These met first at Athens in 1930, then at Istanbul in 1931, then at Bucharest in 1932, and, finally, at Saloniki in 1933. While the results were not all that Venizelos hoped for, yet these conferences did constitute a beginning of a very important development in eastern and southeastern Europe. The amount of the total contribution made by the Carnegie Endowment was only thirty-three thousand dollars.

It is significant that when the present war appeared in

the offing, the states of northeastern Europe—Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were in conference with officers of the Carnegie Endowment with reference to a similar international economic pact in that part of the world.

The outstanding event in this field of endeavor was the unofficial conference held on the invitation of the Endowment at Chatham House, London, in March, 1935, of which a full account will be found in the publications of the Endowment itself.<sup>1</sup> That extraordinary conference of sixty-two outstanding statesmen, economists and men of affairs, drawn from ten different countries, including Germany and Italy, agreed unanimously, after three days of intimate discussion, upon a program for the restoration of international confidence, the development of international trade and the support of international peace.

The program of the Conference at Chatham House, covering as it does the fundamental questions of economic development, monetary stabilization and international co-operation for the establishment and preservation of peace, is the outstanding document in the history of the movement for peace. It states on the highest authority, in definite and specific form, the ideals, the very practical ideals, for which the public opinion of the world must be called upon to work.<sup>2</sup> Its endorsement by the International Chamber of Commerce and by leading statesmen and men of affairs in every land has given it an authority and an appeal of greatest importance.

So far as public opinion in the United States is concerned, most important, indeed lasting, results have followed from the Endowment's policy of promoting what

<sup>1</sup>*International Conciliation*, June, 1935, No. 311, pp. 322-330.

<sup>2</sup>For the membership of the Conference at Chatham House and its program of proposed international action, see pp. 219-227.

has been described in Europe as intellectual interpenetration by the United States and other countries. Following the Great War, the Endowment began the organization of carefully selected groups which went as its guests both to Europe and the Orient, in order to come face to face with personalities and conditions prevailing in those parts of the world.

In the summer of 1926, fifty American professors of international law and relations visited Europe for a period of some six weeks as guests of the Endowment. Their time was chiefly divided between Paris, The Hague and Geneva, in order that they might observe the provision which had been made for the Permanent Court of International Justice and the League of Nations, as well as the practical working of those two newly created international institutions.

In the following year, twenty-four American editorial writers, chosen from representative newspapers throughout the country, spent ten weeks in Europe, visiting London, Paris, The Hague, Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Vienna, Munich and Geneva. The information gained by these representative Americans during their visit has been manifest from that day to this in the editorial columns of their respective newspapers.

In 1929, eleven American journalists visited the Orient, being absent from the end of April until the middle of August. They represented *The Atlanta Constitution*, *The Chicago Daily News*, *The Houston Post-Dispatch*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Minneapolis Journal*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *The Springfield Republican*, *The Washington Star* and the Scripps-Howard newspapers. This group spent ten days in Tokyo and then made a tour of the southern half of the Island of Hondo, visiting the

principal cities and notable places of the Empire. They then went to Korea and Manchuria and thence to China. They were everywhere received with the greatest hospitality and indeed enthusiasm. This visit made a profound impression upon both the peoples and the governments of Japan and of China and gave to an influential group of American journalists new and very vivid appreciation of conditions of life and thought in the Orient.

Two years later, in 1931, nine carefully chosen American economists spent two months in Europe, studying intensively economic problems, three members of this group being assigned to Great Britain, three to countries of Central Europe and three to countries in southeastern Europe. These scholars, who were drawn from the Universities of Oklahoma, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Texas, and New Mexico, Ohio State University, Iowa State University and Utah State Agricultural College, made most interesting and valuable reports and gained for themselves a wide range of information as to the economic problems which were daily becoming more pressing in the European countries.

These visits of intellectual interpenetration included also similar visits to the United States on the part of selected representatives of the European countries. In 1928, fourteen important British journalists were in the United States for two months, going through the country from New England and New York to the Middle West, the Far West, the Pacific Coast and the South. They represented *The Lancashire Daily Post*, *The Yorkshire Evening News*, *The London Daily Express*, *The Belfast Telegraph*, *The South Wales Argus*, *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, *The Kentish Express*, *The Surrey County Herald*, *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, *The London Daily Telegraph*, *The London Times*, *The Edinburgh*

*Scotsman*, *The Western Independent* and *The Yorkshire Post*. Without exception, these visitors bore testimony to the fact that what they saw and heard was a genuine revelation to them.

One year later, twelve European journalists from Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Yugoslavia made a similar visit to the United States, as did fourteen of their fellow-journalists in the following year. The latter group represented Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. Among the papers represented by these two groups were *Il Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, *Corriere della Sera* of the same city, *Argus* of Bucharest, *Le Matin* of Brussels, *Agon* of Athens, *Le Temps* and *Journal des Débats* of Paris, the *Warsaw Courier*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Ny Tid* of Göteborg, *De Standaard* of Rotterdam, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, *La Bulgarie* of Sofia, the *Morgenbladet* of Oslo, the *Pravo Lidu* of Prague, the *Berlingske Tidende* of Copenhagen, the *Basler Nachrichten*, the *Budapesti Hirlap*, the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna and the *Turun Sanomat* of Abo, Finland.

From this brief record of what has been but a small part of the Endowment's work, it should be plain how much has been accomplished in making peoples hitherto strange and remote more familiar with each other through personal contact on the part of outstanding representatives of the life and thought of each one of them. The full details of every aspect of these undertakings in every part of the civilized world, which have now extended over more than a third of a century, are recorded in my series of Annual Reports made to the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment as Director of the Division of Inter-

course and Education, beginning with the year 1911.

In addition, the really remarkable international news service which the people of the United States enjoy, together with the international service rendered day by day by the radio programs, has brought about a new condition of appreciation and understanding which under ordinary circumstances would be full of hope for the future. Whether this hope will be justified in the time of men now living obviously depends upon whether or not the invading and horrendous despotisms which are now cruelly threatening the whole world either exhaust themselves through their folly or come to their end through another Waterloo.

Speaking to the Trustees of the Endowment in 1922, Elihu Root used these words: "It was necessary for us to pass off the field of mere persuasion and writing and speaking, which was tending to the repetition of platitudes and saying to people already convinced the things they had heard hundreds of times, to get to the bottom of the real facts and, in addition, to carry to the minds of the people more of an understanding of what international relations are, what the basis of them is, what their rights and the limitation of their rights are, what their duties and obligations are, and the methods by which those rights could properly be maintained and those duties actually performed." Mr. Root added this sentence: "The work of the Endowment has gradually changed from the production of public excitement in favor of peace to the application of public feeling in favor of peace." It would not be easy to find words better to describe the work which the Endowment has so effectively carried on since the Great War ended.

If it be said that with all that has been done and spent by the Endowment international peace has not yet been

secured, the obvious answer is that the impossible can not be achieved even by the wisest plans of action. What has been accomplished is the establishment throughout the civilized world, among the people themselves, of an almost unanimous desire for peace and an equally unanimous detestation of the horrors and cruelties of war. The real obstacle still to be overcome is that which prevents public opinion from controlling the policy of governments. When that can be accomplished, peace will be secured.

#### VISIT TO COPENHAGEN, 1908

The summer of 1908 was marked by most interesting visits to Paris, to Copenhagen and to Berlin. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator of France, with whom I had been for several years in closest personal collaboration in matters relating to international understanding and international peace, arranged for me a most ambitious and indeed noteworthy program in Paris. It began with attendance upon an important dinner given by the Conciliation Internationale, of which Baron d'Estournelles de Constant was President, in honor of Henry White, then American Ambassador in Paris, as well as of the diplomatic representatives of the republics of Central and South America. M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was one of the many French statesmen who were present. My own address stressed the obvious economic and social changes which were the result of the Industrial Revolution, not yet completed. I pointed out that the world would need all its strength and all its intelligence to know how to earn a decent living for its whole population and that there would be neither time nor strength for war. It was my argument that useful discoveries following quickly upon each other would bind the world more and more

closely together by ties of economic interdependence, and that the future would belong to those peoples who best understood how to apply the great principles of intellectual, moral and economic development to the needs of the moment.

It was also my pleasure while in Paris to be presented to the international arbitration group of the French Parliament at the Palais Bourbon and to address them under the chairmanship of M. Pichon.

At what I am sure was the suggestion of my friend, Professor Otto Jespersen of the University of Copenhagen, I had received an invitation from that University and from the Government of Denmark to deliver a series of lectures in Copenhagen at the opening of the University term in September. I chose as the topic for these lectures "The American as He Is."<sup>1</sup> My purpose was to present to a foreign audience in the simplest and most direct fashion a statement of the outstanding characteristics of the American people as a political type, as a social and economic organization apart from government and as representative of the intellectual life. In order to prepare these lectures, I went with my wife and daughter to a quiet inn on the shores of the Lake of Thun, not far from Interlaken, and spent some little time there upon this task.

It was at this inn that a most interesting incident occurred. Among the guests at the hotel was a group of Russians, some five or six men and three or four women, who spent every morning sitting about a table in the garden, engaged in what was obviously earnest discussion. Before them upon the table about which they sat were copies of the leading newspapers of eastern and south-

<sup>1</sup>*The American as He Is* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915 and 1938).

eastern Europe, those of Vienna, of Budapest, of Belgrade, of Sofia, of Odessa, of Moscow, as well as of Warsaw, of Prague and of Berlin. One could not help being attracted by the personalities of this group and their obvious earnestness. Every evening these men and women, wearing attractive Russian costume, danced in the drawing room of the inn. My curiosity being aroused, I asked the manager of the inn who these Russians might be. He told me that they were all exiles who had spent more or less time in Siberia and who were not permitted to return to Russia. Pointing to the Russian who sat at the head of the table, the manager of the inn said: "That man is very remarkable. His name is Ulyanov, and he is the leading authority in Russia on economic history and economic theory. Would you like to meet him?" I replied that I should be delighted to meet him, and a few hours later M. Ulyanov and I were presented to each other. During the days which followed we had several long talks, and I became very much interested in the man. He seemed to me an intellectual of the academic type, abundant in knowledge of his chosen field of interest and an eager talker. He spoke no English and as both his French and his German were quite imperfect, we had some little difficulty in carrying on our conversation comfortably. Nevertheless, by using German we got on fairly well.

A decade later it turned out that this M. Ulyanov, with whom I had had such agreeable and more or less academic conversations on the Lake of Thun in 1908, was no less a person than Lenin, who had brought about the Russian revolution.

Years later when diplomatic relations between Berlin and Washington had been resumed following the Great War, the German Ambassador at Washington, Baron von Maltzan, paid me a visit one day and, while in my office

at Columbia University, I told him this story of how, quite inadvertently, I had met Lenin. A curious smile came over the Ambassador's face while I was talking and, when I had finished, he broke into a laugh and said: "That is very interesting to me. I am one of the men who in February, 1917, were sent by the German government to Switzerland to get Lenin, to take him across Germany to Finland and across Finland to Russia and to put him into that country with a view to breaking down Russian military and political power. How I wish that I had not done it!"

The first ten days of September were spent in the city of Copenhagen. The hospitality of the government of Denmark and that of the University of Copenhagen were most generous. Together with my wife and daughter, I was given many opportunities to meet the outstanding personalities in the official and intellectual life of that country. In addition to a formal audience, the King was gracious enough to invite us to be guests for dinner at his palace, where the conversation was delightfully informal and interesting. Among other things, the King said that three years earlier he had advised his son not to accept the Kingship of Norway, which had been offered to him following the separation of Norway from Sweden. The King said that in his judgment Norway did not wish a monarchy but a republic, and he had felt that his son would be unhappy there as King. As events proved, this was a mistaken judgment, for the son as King Haakon VII has had a very useful public career and has gained and maintained the confidence of the Norwegian people.

It was a tragedy of the first magnitude that King Frederick VIII himself should have come to a sudden end in the city of Hamburg. It will be remembered that the King had gone out from the hotel at which he was stopping for a walk on the streets of Hamburg and that, stricken

by heart failure, he fell dead in the street and remained unidentified for many hours. His body was taken to the morgue, and it was only when his prolonged absence led his attendants to begin a city-wide search that the body of the King was discovered and identified.

The vigorous intellectual life of the Scandinavian countries and their steady progress in solving the economic problems of our time are not as well known in the United States as they should be. The Scandinavian peoples have made no inconsiderable contribution to the population of the United States and, particularly in the northwest, where they have settled in very large numbers, they have produced numerous important leaders of public opinion. Doubtless the barrier of language accounts for this lack of appreciation on our part of the state of civilization which has been reached in all of Scandinavia. This language barrier should be overcome so far as possible by more frequent visits on the part of Americans to Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, where they can see the Scandinavian peoples vigorously at work not only in the fields of economics and of politics, but in those of literature, of science and of music.

On leaving Copenhagen, we went to Berlin in order to be present at the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, which was then chiefly concerned with the development of plans for international arbitration of any disputed question which might arise between two or more nations. This meeting was very interesting and was attended by a large number of prominent parliamentarians from eighteen or twenty countries. The American representatives were among the most active and influential of the members of this congress. Indeed, Congressman Richard Bartholdt of Missouri was elected President of the Union for the ensuing year.

In connection with that meeting of the Inter-

parliamentary Union, a most amusing incident occurred. When I reached London in June my intimate friend, Lord Weardale, who was Vice-President of the Union for Great Britain, expressed his surprise and anxiety at the fact that no invitation had been received from the Foreign Office in Berlin to attend a reception in honor of the visiting delegations to the forthcoming conference. He said that the Foreign Office of the country in which the conference met each year had always arranged a formal reception in honor of the delegates, which was an outstanding feature in the program of these meetings. He added: "You are going to Germany. Will you not find out why we have not had this invitation?" Not long afterward I was again at Whilhelmshöhe for a week or ten days and after luncheon one day casually repeated Wear-dale's remark to the Kaiser. The Kaiser was very much surprised and said: "Why of course there must be a reception in honor of the visiting delegates. I do not understand it. There must be some mistake." The Kaiser hesitated a moment and said, "You are going up to Berlin in a few days, are you not?" I replied, "Yes, Your Majesty, I am." "Well, then, you go to von Bülow and tell him what Weardale has said. It will have most influence if you will take him the message direct." This wise imperial advice was acted upon, and a reception of great dignity was held, at which I heard Weardale himself make a very charming address to von Bülow, who responded with complete dignity, but no trace of feeling. This was one more odd forecast of events that were all too soon to come.

#### POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN EUROPE

What was to be the great World War of 1914-1918 broke out while the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment

were still working on a world-wide organization for the accomplishment of Mr. Carnegie's noble ideals. Obviously, nothing of importance could be done until the war should come to its end. So it was that, when Armistice Day was reached, the Trustees found themselves in possession of a considerable amount of accumulated income. This, after full consideration and largely at the urgent insistence of Joseph H. Choate and Andrew D. White, they decided to devote to reconstruction work in those European countries which had been the chief sufferers from the war now ended.

The details of this undertaking were entrusted to me as Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education. In consultation with Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the Endowment's chief representative in Europe, a study was at once made of the possibilities and opportunities which seemed most useful for the Endowment to undertake. Our attention was attracted of course primarily to Belgium and to France and later to Serbia, in which country the war's hostilities had actually begun.

#### LOUVAIN

It so happened that following the invasion of Belgium in August, 1914, a delegation of important representatives of the government and people of that country came to the United States to tell the story of what had happened. This delegation consisted of Count Carton de Wiart, President of the Commission and Minister of Justice of Belgium, M. Louis de Sadeleer, Minister of State and leader of the Government Party, M. Paul Hymans, Minister of State and leader of the Liberal Party, M. Émile Vandervelde, Minister of State and leader of the Socialist Party, and Count Louis de Lichervelde, Secretary to

the Prime Minister of Belgium and Secretary to the Commission.

These gentlemen were my guests at dinner on Morningside Heights and later in the evening told their story to a group of some two hundred representative citizens of New York and its vicinity. All were very deeply moved by what these Belgian statesmen told us.

Immediately after this visit, M. de Sadeleer, who remained for some time in New York after the other members of the delegation returned to Belgium, invited me to become chairman of a committee to raise funds for the reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain, which had been wrecked by the invading German forces. I accepted this task and had I been permitted to go forward with the work of money-raising at once, while the sufferings of Belgium and its people were still keenly felt by the American people, the sum needed could have been raised in a few weeks. M. de Sadeleer, however, asked me to refrain from any public action until word came from Belgium that I might proceed. This word did not come until the early autumn of 1918, at which time the psychological situation had greatly changed. It was this fact which made raising the necessary funds much more difficult than would otherwise have been the case.

M. de Sadeleer fixed \$250,000 as the sum needed, but long experience in work of this kind led me to double this amount before making any public statement of what was asked. As a matter of fact, it had to be doubled again before the magnificent new library of the University of Louvain was complete. Few, if any, appeals for a fund of this kind have ever met with more widespread or more significant response in the United States. There was a steady flow from all parts of the country of small contributions, the best possible indication of the interest

which the public at large was taking in the project. Finally, with the aid of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and that of some well known and most generous American philanthropists, the full sum needed was obtained. The beautiful library of today is the result.

As evidence of the interest which this undertaking aroused, it is a satisfaction to print the letters which were received from the President of the United States, from His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, from Cardinal Mercier and from His Holiness Pope Pius XI, in support and commendation of what was accomplished:

WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, D. C.  
July 28, 1921

On the happy occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the new Library of the University of Louvain, I am glad to join in the congratulations of the numberless friends of the University in all lands.

The burning of this ancient and distinguished library was, like the burning of the great library in Alexandria, an irreparable loss to scholarship. But it is my firm belief that, in so far as the monuments of learning and the literary and artistic treasures which were destroyed can be replaced, they will be replaced through the generosity of those friends of scholarship who suffered with you in your loss and who, today, rejoice with you in this first step toward restoration. It makes me particularly happy that my own countrymen have had the privilege of sharing in this noble undertaking, and it is my hope that the friendship between the University of Louvain and the universities of America will prove to be one of the strong ties which hold the two nations together.

Warren G. Harding

Brussels, Belgium  
July 28, 1922

My dear Dr. Butler:

I was particularly gratified to learn today on this, the first, anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of the new library

of Louvain University, that you were about to make new efforts to bring your great and noble enterprise to a happy conclusion. I should like to assure you that I shall follow your efforts with the greatest interest and with my best wishes for their success. The eyes of the whole world, which have been fixed in sorrow on the ruins of Louvain, will, I feel sure, be gladdened by the sight of the new library that will rise from its ashes.

This building, consecrated to science, will not only benefit all peoples, but will also stand forever as a monument of the gratitude that Belgium owes to the great and generous American nation.

With kindest regards, I remain, dear Dr. Butler,

Yours very sincerely,

Albert

Archevêché de Malines

August 9, 1922

Dear Dr. Murray Butler:

I have followed with deep interest the prolonged fight which you and Mr. Whitney Warren have been so gallantly making on behalf of the reconstruction of Louvain Library.

You will readily grasp my whole-hearted satisfaction when I heard of the new and organized campaign you are about to undertake for this same purpose; nor can I overstate my relief and joy on receiving your message telling me that I might henceforth banish all anxiety, so promising were the prospects of this new movement and so complete the success you anticipate.

The generosity of donors, all the world over, has already stored up a remarkable collection of books, but these gifts are piled up, almost at haphazard, in garrets and warehouses, and the need of an adequate building for the library is becoming every day more pressing.

All this will enable you to understand the enthusiasm evoked in Louvain by the sight of the first piles of the building emerging above the level.

God grant that this, your latest effort, may meet with complete success, and be the crowning glory of all that the United States have done so generously for Belgium.

Yours cordially,

+ D. J. CARD. MERCIER

*Archbishop of Malines*

THE VATICAN, Rome  
September 8, 1922

Mr. President:

We greet with intense satisfaction everything which relates to the prosperity and the splendor of the University of Louvain. The Holy See has always taken the greatest interest in the creation and development of libraries and universities and Our Predecessors have bequeathed to Us their particular solicitude for the illustrious University of Louvain to which We have nearly all Our life been personally devoted. We write to tell you of Our gratification at learning that you have organized a committee in the United States to raise the necessary funds to restore the library building of this illustrious University.

By a happy inspiration your committee plans to appeal to the students and school children throughout America asking each to give his mite. We congratulate you upon this noble project and hope that so enthusiastic a response will be given to the appeal that a building will soon arise which shall equal and even surpass in splendor the former library of the Alma Mater at Louvain. This monument will tell the generations to come of the generosity of American students, of their love for Belgium and of their devotion to the cause of science and higher education.

May the Lord crown your efforts with success and answer Our prayers for your prosperity and happiness.

Pius PP. XI

The stately ceremony of laying the cornerstone of this noble building took place on July 28, 1921, in the presence of a most distinguished group, including the King and Queen of the Belgians and the Crown Prince; M. Poincaré, the former President of the French Republic; Cardinal Mercier; the diplomatic representatives of England, of the United States and of several other countries; Marshals Joffre, Foch and Pétain; and fully two score more of unusual distinction. The brief address which I made at that time is here printed in its English version:

This is surely no ordinary gathering. The presence of His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, of the principal Ministers of

State, of His Eminence Cardinal Mercier, of the distinguished former President of the French Republic, M. Poincaré, and the host of other personalities whose names are known throughout Europe and America, means that we are here for a great purpose.

This purpose is not alone the laying of the first stone of the noble building, planned by Mr. Whitney Warren, the eminent American architect, that is to arise on this site; nor even to testify anew—if farther testimony were needed—to the close friendship and interdependence of the nations that were allies and associates in the Great War; it is to give one more proof of the firm determination of these peoples to maintain their relations of friendship and co-operation in the long years of reconstruction and, we sincerely hope, of international peace that are now to follow.

Standing in the city of Louvain and reflecting on all that has happened here, it is not possible for an American to repress strong emotion. Here for more than a thousand years has been a city of importance and of high significance. Here industry has flourished, contentment has been spread abroad among a large population, and scholarship and the life of the spirit have found a happy home. Here have lived and worked great humanists like Lipsius and Erasmus, great interpreters of the religious life like Thomas à Kempis, such a forerunner and prophet of the science of anatomy as Vesalius, and such a great captain of the unconquerable spirit of man as His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier. Here for hundreds of years have come eager students of letters, of philosophy, of theology, and from Louvain have gone out constant and fertilizing streams of learning and of inspiration.

But into the history of this city and its noble university was to come a great tragedy. More than nine hundred years ago, Louvain withstood its first siege by the Germans and the old chronicle records that "*Ils s'en retournèrent sans rien faire.*" In 1914, nine hundred and two years afterward, the attack upon Louvain by the Germans was renewed, and this time the results were not so fortunate. Innocent persons were cruelly murdered, splendid monuments of art and architecture were ruthlessly destroyed, and a great wave of barbarism swept over this charming center of a peaceful and scholarly civilization.

When Louvain was ravaged, the world was in tears. The heart



Mural painting in the grand hall of the new library of the University of Louvain depicting the laying of the cornerstone, July 28, 1921

*Left to right:* 1. Architect Whitney Warren. 2. Monsignor Deploige. 3. His Eminence Cardinal Mercier. 4. Professor Nicholas Murray Butler. 5. President of the University of Louvain. 6. M. Degeyer, Painter of fresco. 7. Father Flament, Rector of the University of Louvain. 8. Assistant Architect Greenhough. 9. His Excellency Monsignor Ladenz, Rector of the University of Louvain. 10. M. Leon Berard, French Minister of Education. 11. His Excellency Brand Whillock, American Ambassador. 12. H. R. H. Prince Marie-José. 13. Professor J. Helleputte, Minister of State. 14. Professor J. Van den Hevel, Minister of State, of the French Republic. 16. H. M. King Albert. 17. Professor Imbart de la Tour, of the Académie Française. 18. H. M. Queen Elizabeth. 19. M. Alfred Alexandre Coville, Director General of Education in France. 20. H. R. H. Prince of Monaco. 21. M. Georges Guyau, of the Académie Française. 22. Marshal Petain, of the Académie Française.



of America was deeply touched by the outrages committed against Belgium and particularly by the unprovoked and unnecessary assault upon Louvain, its population, its homes and its monuments.

The tragic hours of Belgium's history revealed the heroism of its people and the greatness of its leaders. His Majesty, the King, calm amid the storm and brave amid the danger, represented all that was best and finest in the life and character of his people. His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier, spoke words that set a listening world on fire, while putting shame even into German hearts.

The people of Belgium, the people of Louvain, surrounded their noble King and their great Cardinal with words and with deeds worthy of such leadership. France hastened to Belgium's aid and together they withstood the first great shock of battle, whose stake was the freedom of the world.

The war is over. It is now time to bind up its wounds, to care for the fatherless, the impoverished and the distressed, and to rebuild those monuments which most fully express the aspiration of man. The American people have eagerly sought an opportunity to co-operate in this great and splendid task. They are not able to do all, or even so much, as their hearts desire, but they will do what they can.

They have asked the privilege of assisting in the reconstruction of the library of the University of Louvain and are proud and happy that this opportunity has been given to them. It is my fortunate lot to stand in this splendid presence as representative of that company of Americans who have contributed, each according to his means, to the rebuilding of this library; in their name and on their behalf to lay its first stone; and in their name and on their behalf to promise you that America's affectionate good wishes and prayers will follow this act of dedication. America will watch this splendid building rise, like the phenix from its ashes, to bear witness to the unbreakable bonds that bind America to Belgium, to France, to Great Britain and to all their Allies.

A nation can not do battle in a great cause or for a noble ideal without receiving a new baptism of the spirit. Such a new baptism of the spirit has come to the people of the United States, and this act of theirs, so small when compared with their ambitions and their hopes, is convincing evidence that America will never stand idly by while freedom is destroyed, while liberty is turned

into slavery, or while the cannon and the flames of war carry destruction to the most splendid monuments of human aspiration and of human accomplishment.

An account of the ceremonies on July 28, 1921, with the full text of the speeches then delivered, was printed, in a handsomely illustrated volume, by the University of Louvain. The same is true of the ceremonies of July 17, 1923, when the first wing of the new library was dedicated. In these I also took part.

#### RHEIMS

On July 19, 1921, I had the honor to lay the cornerstone of the new library of the city of Rheims, at which time the American Ambassador in Paris, Myron T. Herrick, honored the occasion with his presence as did various representatives of the French government. We had been told that the city of Rheims, with a population of more than a hundred thousand, had suffered more than any of the French towns from enemy bombardment and occupation. The evidences of ruin and disaster were obvious and extremely sad. It was said that every building in the city, save perhaps a half-dozen, had been either destroyed or injured during the hostilities and enemy occupation. On this occasion, speaking in French, I delivered the address of which the following is a translation:

We are here to begin a notable work of reconstruction after the devastation of war. We are here to demonstrate once more that the human spirit cannot be conquered by force and that all the vast apparatus of pillage and destruction cannot long repress all that is best and most significant in the life of man.

This building whose first stone we lay today is but one of many notable structures that will arise between the Vosges and the sea, as evidence of the unconquerable power of those peoples who are devoted to freedom and to progress. It is a fortunate

and happy circumstance that this library is to arise to take its place in the life of the citizens of Rheims by co-operation between France and the United States. To France, on whose soil it stands, this building will owe its admirable site, the nobility of its plan and its convenience and excellence of administration; to the United States it will look, we are sure with appreciation, for that co-operation which makes its quick construction possible.

The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have wished to mark with all possible emphasis their conviction that the attack upon France in 1914 was premeditated, unprovoked, and brutal in the extreme. They have wished to testify in practical ways to their belief in the power of France to rise superior to its losses and to its sufferings, they have wished to prove for the hundredth time the interdependence of France and America and the close and almost affectionate relations which exist and which should exist between their governments and their peoples. In taking this step, the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are confident that they represent the true spirit of America and that they reflect the earnest purpose of the American people to aid France in her vast work of reconstruction and to co-operate in the establishment of those policies and acts that will do all that is humanly possible to prevent any repetition of the tragedy of 1914.

This building will contain books for the use of the people. Here the young will come for instruction and for entertainment; here their elders will come for information and for enjoyment of the best literature which the French language contains. In these ways this building will become a new center for the development of the expression of the life of France, and for the carrying forward of everything which has brought distinction to France and given it a commanding place in modern civilization.

Few acts of the war touched America more deeply than the destruction of the city of Rheims and the mutilation of its superb cathedral. This city and this church have been associated for centuries with the history of France. Here, in olden times, kings came to be crowned, here noteworthy celebrations of great events in the civil and religious life of the people have been held since time immemorial. To strike at Rheims and its cathedral church seemed to onlooking Americans to be striking at the very heart of France. So it was that America's heart responded to the blow

and so it is that America's heart now seeks to find ways to express its deep regard for this city, its admiration for its great cathedral, and its confidence in the courage and self-sacrifice of its citizens.

On behalf of the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, whom I have the honor to represent, I lay this first stone of the Municipal Library of the City of Rheims, in the confident assurance that this building will stand through many coming generations as evidence of the co-operation between France and America in the Great War, and as evidence also of the continuing co-operation between France and America in the even greater tasks of peace.

#### FARGNIERS

At the suggestion of d'Estournelles de Constant, we had also sought opportunity to aid in the reconstruction of some commune which had been devastated by the war. The French government was asked to indicate to us a commune which had been most grievously injured and whose population was desperately in need of help. After consideration, it was suggested to us by the government that we reconstruct the official buildings of the Commune of Fargniers in the Department of the Aisne, which had been entirely wiped out during the war. Not a building was left, and such part of the population of some thirty-two hundred as had not been killed or wounded was obliged to seek refuge in other parts of France or was living in temporary and most inadequate sheds and tents. This suggestion appealed strongly to us, and we started at once upon its execution. We asked the government to alter the Route Nationale, which had gone around the hill which had been the middle part of the old commune, in order to carry it across that hill so that the new civic center could be built on the Route Nationale at the high point of the village. This was done, and there we laid out the Place Carnegie, with a bust of Mr. Carnegie on a suitable

pedestal at its middle point. About the Place Carnegie we built the Hôtel de Ville, the Postes et Télégraphes, the Bibliothèque de la Ville, the Établissement des Bains and the Salle d'Assemblée for meetings, cinemas and other like purposes. We also constructed a public school for boys and one for girls, as well as a group of modern and electrically equipped dwelling houses for persons of modest means. Throughout France the greatest interest was shown in this act of reconstruction, and the ceremonies of dedication on July 14, 1923, while simple, were most impressive. When I returned to visit Fargniers two or three years later, the Mayor of the commune, M. L'Héronnelle, told me that no fewer than fifty-eight other communes in France had sent representatives or delegations to Fargniers in order to study this reconstruction that they might imitate it in whole or in part in their several localities.

#### SERBIA

Another like act of reconstruction was performed at Belgrade, where the Carnegie Endowment rebuilt the university library in that city. This undertaking presented a totally different problem from that of the erection of the library at Rheims. In the latter undertaking, we had at our command the most intelligent and effective co-operation of the European organization of the Endowment's office in Paris. In distant Serbia no such organization or official connection with the Endowment then existed. Moreover, the economic and political conditions in Serbia, together with the interruption of transportation and communication facilities due to wholesale devastation by the Germans during the war, rendered the situation extremely difficult. It was through the co-operation of Mr. C. A. Severance of St. Paul, Minnesota, a Trustee of the Endow-

ment, that a way was found to supervise the actual planning and completing of this library. In consultation with the Serbian Minister at Washington and in correspondence with the governmental authorities in Serbia, I was able to arrange that the work of reconstruction should be carried through. In this we were greatly aided by the service of L. W. Capser, also of St. Paul, who went to Belgrade early in February, 1921, to represent the Endowment on the local committee charged with supervising the work. The cornerstone of the building was laid on June 23, 1921, by the Crown Prince Alexander, afterward King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. All arrangements for this ceremony had been made by the Serbians themselves and were followed with the keenest interest and sympathy by the American colony in Belgrade. The ceremonies were opened by the representatives of the Church in gorgeous and picturesque robes, with the chanting of hymns, the sprinkling of holy water, the burning of incense and the lighting of countless candles. The blessing of the Patriarch was then given. The Crown Prince himself laid the cornerstone, which contained a collection of the documents relating to the occasion. The library was completed in 1923.

These interesting and highly important acts of reconstruction were hailed throughout Europe as an evidence of generous interest and sympathy of the American people with those of their fellows in other nations who might be suffering or in want. They led to a new and most affectionate attitude toward the United States, which has fortunately lasted until this day.

When this work of reconstruction was finished, the international situation had so vastly improved that the Carnegie Endowment could go forward with its task of

educating public opinion in each and every land in whatever part of the world it might be.

#### AMERICA'S UNOFFICIAL AMBASSADOR, 1921

This unusual and embarrassing title was conferred by the European press. It was without foundation in any act by the President of the United States, either with or without consent of the Senate. The European press used it so persistently that it came to be looked upon as having some real significance. Of course, it had none. Some of the headlines used were as annoying as they were startling. Among them were:

WAS NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER PRESIDENT HARDING'S REPRESENTATIVE IN RECENT TOUR?; UNPRECEDENTED OFFICIAL RECEPTION; MORE DISTINCTIONS THAN WERE GIVEN EITHER TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT OR TO WILSON; APPEARED BEFORE HOUSE OF COMMONS CONFERENCE FOR HOURS IN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION — UTTERLY UNPRECEDENTED; WEEKEND WITH KING OF BELGIUM; AMERICAN TRAVELER WHO WAS GIVEN A UNIQUE LUNCHEON BY THE BENCHERS OF GRAY'S INN; RECEIVED UNHEARD OF HONORS FROM THE ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE AND THE SORBONNE IN PARIS; WEEKEND GUEST OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND.

One may imagine how genuinely disturbing it was to have these very superlative statements made in the press, when, so far as possible, the conferences and visits to which they alluded were kept quite confidential.

The real fact was that so far from being an ambassador of any kind, my European trip of 1921 was undertaken for two very definite purposes. The first of these was, with President Harding's full knowledge and approval, to ascertain what would be the probable reaction of the

several European governments were President Harding to propose to them the international conference to deal with economic problems and disarmament which I had suggested to him in our conversation at Marion, Ohio, on December 18, 1920.<sup>1</sup> The second purpose of the visit was in connection with those acts of post-war reconstruction in France and in Belgium which had been undertaken, with my general supervision, on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment which was meeting the cost of these undertakings.

My interesting personal contacts began immediately upon my arrival in London on June 21, and ended only with my sailing from Southampton on September 14. There were long and confidential discussions with the chief officials of the British and French foreign offices, in which almost every question of public and international policy was discussed. There came opportunity to meet, in the closest relationship, nearly every prominent political personality in western Europe. It may be imagined how interesting all that was, since the Treaty of Versailles was but two years old. There were two successive appearances, lasting about three hours each, before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the House of Commons. That was the name given to a group of about three hundred members of that body who were particularly interested in studying international policy and international relations. It was not a committee in the technical sense of that word as used in the United States. These conferences were in strict confidence and without any public report. I answered questions of every sort and kind as to American foreign policy, and discussed with the members of this very influential group, from the American point of view and with entire frankness, the League of Nations, the

<sup>1</sup>I, pp. 400-401.

Irish problem, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, the international financial situation, as well as the steps that might be taken by international co-operation to set in motion the wheels of industry to check the demoralization of the foreign exchanges and to stem the rising tide of unemployment.

Although no word as to what was said on these two occasions appeared in the public press, it was known that they took place. They were regarded in England as quite unique. Later I was assured that they were most helpful in leading to a better understanding of American policy and American public opinion on the part of a large and influential body of men in English public life. At a luncheon given by the Benchers of Gray's Inn the Lord Chancellor presided, and spoke in most flattering terms of the influence which I was fortunate enough to exercise upon the public policies and the international relations of civilized nations. There followed numerous personal talks with individual Dominion premiers, all of whom were assembled in London for the Imperial Conference of that year. Finally, there was a memorable week-end visit at Chequers as the guest of Lloyd George, where the British Prime Minister and the several Dominion premiers were met under the best possible conditions.

Chequers is a very charming country place about an hour and a half distant from London by motor. It had been the property of Lord Lee of Fareham who gave it to the government some twenty-five years ago as the country home for the prime minister. In the group there was William Fergusson Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand; William Morris Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia; and Sir Robert Borden of Canada. There were also two very distinguished representatives of India. Hughes had gone out to Australia from Wales as a very

young man, and Lloyd George felt that he might need a good deal of persuading in order to make the work of this Conference unanimous. After the discussion of the term British Commonwealth of Nations had gone on for a long time, one of the group asked me something about the use of the word commonwealth in the United States. I told them that there were four of our states in which the word was written into their constitutions. We had, therefore, four commonwealths and to that extent the word was familiar to us.

Finally, Lloyd George took me aside and said: "Hughes needs stirring up. You have got a car—take him out and show him what there is around here. Get under his skin!" It was a very hot day, so I went up to Hughes and said, "Prime Minister, come on with me; let us go and take a drive." I took him about three miles to the little village in which was the house where John Milton wrote *Paradise Regained*. We looked at that and talked about Milton. We drove on about three miles farther to the village from which William Penn came and where he is buried in the graveyard, a simple and impressive place. We looked at that and talked about William Penn. We went on a few miles more to the graveyard where Edmund Burke is buried. We stood by his tomb and talked about Burke. We next turned around and went into the church where John Hampden's manifesto about ship-money was nailed to a post in the middle of the building, and has been there ever since. We looked at that and talked about John Hampden. Between Milton and Penn and Burke and John Hampden, by the time we got back to Chequers, Hughes began to think that England was quite a place after all and that it would be well to be more enthusiastic than he had yet been about the background of Australia in England and about a British Commonwealth of Nations.



Prime Minister Lloyd George and the Anthor at Chequers,  
July 10, 1921



We had a late lunch, out in the garden because of the great heat. As the meal drew to a close, Lloyd George got up and said: "Well, gentlemen, this has been a very, very important gathering. We shall now be able to get our Conference together next week and they will all accept our recommendation, I am sure, that we are to be a British Commonwealth of Nations. So I want to offer a toast to you all." We then drank a toast to the Prime Ministers of New Zealand, of Australia, of Canada, and to the representatives of India, after which L. G. turned to me and said, "I am sorry that I cannot include you." I replied: "L. G., you do not need to. Last Monday was the Fourth of July!" At this we all had a good laugh, in which of course L. G. joined.

Nothing reached the English press as to what took place during these two days, but it was widely rumored that significant understandings and conclusions were arrived at as a result of these many hours of frank, man-to-man consideration and discussion of difficult problems. As a matter of fact, it was, as I have just described, under the trees at Chequers on Sunday, July 10, 1921, that the phrase, British Commonwealth of Nations, was definitely agreed upon to displace the historic term, the British Empire—I being the only person present not himself a prime minister. The Statute of Westminster, definitely recognizing and organizing the British Commonwealth of Nations, followed in 1931, ten years later.

All this is a most interesting memory. It meant much to me to sit there and listen to these men discussing very intimately, at very close quarters, the significance of these political terms, what those terms meant to their people at home, what objections there were to "empire" and how far the word "commonwealth" would meet those objections, and how elastic it was.

After three of the most crowded and fascinatingly interesting weeks of a lifetime, I crossed to Paris where my reception was equally overwhelming. I had hardly reached Paris before I was hurried to the Chamber of Deputies to hear Briand make his important speech reporting and accepting on behalf of the French government President Harding's invitation to the Washington Conference of 1922. There followed a luncheon at Palais de Luxembourg given by M. Léon Bourgeois, President of the Senate. In the very distinguished company which he gathered there were included the Prime Minister, M. Briand, and four former prime ministers of France. These were MM. Ribot, Viviani, Painlevé and Poincaré. In the company were Marshals Foch and Joffre, several members of the Cabinet and a dozen other personalities eminent in the public and intellectual life of France and of the world. When my health was kindly proposed by M. Bourgeois, I responded in French, speaking, as was possible in such intimate companionship, most freely of my hopes for the success of the coming Washington Conference in opening the way to a solution of many of the difficult problems which the Great War had left in its train. There were other dinners and receptions almost without end, including a reception in the Hôtel de Ville by the Municipal Council of Paris where I was presented with the freedom of the city. At the Sorbonne I was privileged to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of the University of Paris, accompanied by a medal and a formal inscribed address. There was also a most charming reception by the President of the Republic, M. Millerand. Perhaps the most unexampled was a reception by the Académie Française given to one who was not a member of that distinguished body for the first time in its more

than three hundred years of history. The Académie Française had three or four times held public receptions for visiting monarchs including Peter the Great of Russia, but never before had it received a foreign citizen into its own membership, as it were, and made him one of themselves. My address in French on this occasion was graciously printed by the Académie Française and given wide circulation, with particular reference to its eulogy of the French language as an instrument of thought and expression.

After leaving Paris I was taken on a tour of the line of battle and the devastated regions from the Vosges Mountains to the English Channel, in order that I might see under the best possible circumstances just what damage the Great War had done and what progress was making toward reconstruction.

There followed a week in Belgium which was similarly crowded with most memorable happenings. On July 28 there was the notable ceremony at the University of Louvain, already described. Following a luncheon given in the Archbishop's Palace at Malines by Cardinal Mercier, I had the honor of being entertained privately, together with my wife and daughter, by the King and Queen of the Belgians at the Palace at Laeken. It is not proper to repeat what was said there save that there was full discussion of the problems, economic, financial and political, which were then confronting Europe and the world. Perhaps there is no better way to summarize the happenings of those memorable weeks than to print my correspondence with President Harding, whom I kept informed of what I saw and did so far as it had any relation to the success of the coming Washington Conference, for which I had the highest hopes.

Just as I was sailing for Europe I had written a letter of good-by to the President, to which he made this response:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

My dear Dr. Butler:

June 16, 1921

It was very pleasing to have your note on the very hour of your departure for Europe. I want to express my appreciation of your suggestion respecting the Pacific conference and I am glad to be assured that you are going to be in touch with sentiment on the other side. You can, of course, in your unofficial capacity, learn many helpful things that could not be acquired if you were there in any formal way.

It will be a great pleasure to hear from you, and you can be assured that Mrs. Harding will be pleased to have you come to the White House on your return.

Very truly yours,  
Warren G. Harding

*Confidential*

London

July 5, 1921

To the President  
White House  
Washington, D. C.  
U. S. A.

My dear Mr. President:

Your very welcome letter of June 16 followed me quickly to Europe, and I appreciate greatly your thoughtful kindness in writing it.

I should hardly know where to begin or where to stop if I were to attempt to summarize for you my confidential conversations of the past two weeks and my reflections on the state of public opinion here, particularly as concerns the matters in which we are all so deeply interested.

I have seen in the most intimate way perhaps forty of the leaders in the public and intellectual life of Great Britain and the Dominions, and have discussed with them almost every

conceivable question with frankness. I have had the privilege of two confidential meetings, each lasting about two hours, with what is called the Committee on Foreign Relations at the House of Commons. This is a voluntary group of members of Parliament who take a keen interest in foreign affairs and who wish to be intimately informed concerning them. The Committee has no official status as with us, but I can see that its existence is only the beginning of the development of something like the formal committee system which has been so long established in the Congress and in our State Legislatures.

Perhaps a week or two hence, when the pressure upon me shall have relaxed somewhat, I may be able to send you a more complete and more careful summary of my experiences. At the moment I must content myself with assuring you that your Administration commands the most complete sympathy in this country and that your public utterances have been received with the most profound satisfaction and approval.

I cabled you as I did some ten days ago because I found the opinion to be general here that the public expressions of Anglo-American friendship and co-operation coupled with a strong desire for the limitation of armaments had recently been so striking that a counter-expression from the United States, if promptly made, would have enormous and very beneficial effect.

In a day or two your letter to Mondell was printed, and then came the vote of the House of Representatives, which was substantially unanimous.

All this made a deep impression here of the most favorable kind, for the ruling thought in Great Britain is friendly co-operation with America in everything that concerns foreign policy, and particularly armaments.

Your Fourth of July message in the London *Times* of yesterday is reprinted today all over the Kingdom. George Harvey's speech last night at the Independence Day Dinner was very well received, and his thinly veiled allusion to the likelihood of quick progress being made in the matter of armaments was heard with particular satisfaction and with loud applause.

I shall have something to write shortly about the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and also something about the Irish question. This

morning I must content myself with these few paragraphs and with again telling you of my high appreciation of your letter.

Thus far the weather has been auspicious, and I am looking forward to my coming visit to France and Belgium with keenest interest.

Mrs. Butler and my daughter join me in affectionate greetings to Mrs. Harding and yourself.

I hope you are not letting the Senatorial Combine get the better of you at golf.

Always sincerely yours,  
Nicholas Murray Butler

To the President

White House

Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Events have moved very rapidly since I wrote you on July 5, and I could now easily fill a volume with the record of my conversations and discussions with men of the first importance in the public life of Great Britain and of France.

In addition to having had long and most confidential talks with the permanent officials of the Foreign Offices of both countries, I have talked freely and at length with the Prime Minister, with all the Dominion Premiers except General Smuts, and with perhaps forty or fifty men of all parties in both countries who count for much in their public life. Among these are Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, Lord Haldane, Lord Morley and Mr. Winston Churchill in England, and former President Poincaré, former Prime Ministers Ribot, Viviani and Barthou, and former Foreign Minister Hanotaux in France.

It is a pleasure to tell you, first of all, that it has not been difficult to get their sympathy and full understanding when they have heard what I believe to be the exact explanation of our attitude towards the Treaty of Versailles, and of the meaning and results of the last Presidential election.

In you personally they all have the greatest confidence, and your various public utterances and expressions of respect and regard for Great Britain and France have found warm welcome and generous appreciation here. Secretary Hughes is to them

Paris, July 13, 1921

an unknown quantity, since they have not been familiar with his earlier public record and service. They have asked many questions as to his probable views and course of action, and I have had pleasure in assuring them that I knew him to be in complete accord with you in your purposes and policies.

Both in England and in France there has been a strong desire for speedy action on the part of the United States in bringing forward its alternative policy to the League of Nations. In both countries there is much skepticism in high places as to the usefulness of the present League, and a widespread expression of willingness to meet any proposals which the United States may see fit to bring forward that are in accordance with your own statements made during the campaign and since March 4 last. They have been most eager to avoid further delay, because they feel very keenly the difficulties and dangers that lie beneath the surface, and believe that these can only be averted if the world at large sees something definite and concrete being done to meet its aspirations for a better world order.

I have stated it as my opinion that probably 95% of the population of the United States favors the underlying principles of a league or association of nations to protect the peace of the world, and to extend the rule of law, while probably 70% were strongly opposed to the method adopted and to the details approved in the Covenant for the present League of Nations. I have assured them that they must not be misled into regarding our unwillingness to enter the League as a mere political matter, but that that unwillingness was definite and final and rested at bottom upon the fear that the present League was, or might readily become, a super-government. In reality a great many of the public men in both countries hold the same view of the League that you do, but they have felt that since it was the only proposition before the world, it was preferable to adopt and afterwards to amend it rather than to reject it outright. I have done my best to explain why we in America were unable to take that view of the matter.

You probably are fully aware that there was some little misunderstanding on the part of the English government as to the exact situation regarding the exchange of views between their government and ours. This misunderstanding was, I infer, due

to the fact that their approaches were made, as is so often the case, in informal conversations rather than in formal written communications. At any rate they felt that they were waiting for our government to move, while it now transpires that our government felt that it was waiting for a communication from them. The clearing up of this matter at the end of last week opened the way to the developments that have received yesterday and today the most enthusiastic reception and approval on this side of the Atlantic.

Mr. Lloyd George, who has been most kind, asked me to be his guest at Chequers over the last week-end when he was having all the Dominion Premiers, and of course we had the best possible opportunity to discuss all these matters in the frankest and most informal way. Mr. Lloyd George asked a great many very interesting and searching questions, and indicated that he thought the success of the Conference would depend almost entirely upon the care with which the delegates from the several countries were chosen. He laid emphasis upon the fact that if there might be in the Conference a small group of men who already knew each other personally and had often exchanged views on public matters, the result would be happy and the work of the Conference greatly expedited. He indicated that if it were at all possible, he should like to attend the Conference himself together with Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary. I ventured to suggest to him the unwisdom of President Wilson's course in coming to Paris, and raised the question whether a Conference of Prime Ministers might not prove to be less satisfactory than a Conference of very well chosen plenipotentiaries. In view of what happened at Paris in 1919, I think this question very important.

The Dominion Premiers are a very intelligent set of men, and they look, talk and work very much as do our American public men. Premier Meighen of Canada is definitely opposed to any renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty on the ground that it is useless and might be misunderstood in America and elsewhere, if it were renewed simply as a matter of form. On the other hand, Premier Hughes of Australia, mildly supported by Premier Massey of New Zealand, favors the renewal of the Treaty provided it can be done in a way that meets with the

approval of the United States, for a very interesting reason. Mr. Hughes says that his constituents in Australia are very strongly opposed to Japanese immigration but that none the less they favor the renewal of the present treaty because unless Japan is kept on the official list of their friends and allies, they fear she will select Australia as the continent on which to obtain her necessary expansion. That is, they want to keep Japan as an official friend for fear that she might by immigration and economic penetration take their land from them. The English Government does not want to renew the treaty, but it would like to find a way out that would not be offensive to Japan or hurt the feelings of that proud people. They think the way is provided through the Conference which you have now publicly proposed. They are, therefore, ready to accept the opinion of their Lord Chancellor that the treaty does not need to be renewed just now but is kept alive by its own terms. They look forward to being able to get rid of this treaty within a year's time through the agreements as to national policy which they hope, and confidently expect, will be the outcome of the Conference. The Japanese view, so far at least as it is expressed by very able ambassadors at London and at Paris, is one of entire satisfaction with this prospect.

The French are very happy at being invited to the Conference, and the Prime Minister called my attention today, in the course of a very interesting confidential talk together, to the fact that Indo-China, which is under French control, has twice the area of France itself and is the chief source of the food supply for Japan. This latter fact was new to me and is very important. The French will operate in entire harmony with you at the Conference, and are ready to go so far as to urge that Yap be actually ceded to the United States as Guam was.

I have an impression that has now become a conviction that the chief problem of the Conference will be to devise a formula that will permit the necessary expansion of Japan, without turning over any other people, least of all the Chinese, to exploitation by them. I have had it in mind to suggest that Japan should be permitted to take over eastern Siberia as far as Lake Baikal. Nominally that section of the earth belongs to Russia, but Russia was there more or less by accident, and has now disap-

peared from the list of powers. It is certain that Japan cannot be bottled up without compelling an explosion sooner or later. Her original island home is not large enough in area or productive enough in soil to maintain her increasing population. If we could hit upon a formulation of rules of international conduct to which Japan and all other nations associated with us would subscribe, we might then permit economic laws and forces to take their natural course, trusting to the operation of these principles to prevent exploitation and injustice.

I have carefully explained to the leading statesmen of Great Britain and France why our people cannot contemplate with equanimity extensive Japanese immigration. I have explained our negro problem and have emphasized the fact that we did not wish a second race problem to grow up on our soil. Great Britain and France entirely sympathize with this view, and are as unwilling as we are to encourage or permit extensive Japanese immigration. On the other hand, I have found entire agreement with my view that somehow or somewhere opportunity must be provided for Japan to expand both in population and in industry in order to remove that nation from the list of possible trouble-makers.

Briand, the present Prime Minister of France, made me an interesting suggestion yesterday and returned to it again today. This was that at some stage in the history of the Conference, Germany might be brought in and associated with its conclusions and recommendations. He said, with great emphasis and much feeling, that if this could be done he would think that the present problems of the world were substantially at an end. I drew the inference that what he had in mind was to draw Germany away from possible dependence upon Soviet Russia, with all which that might mean for the spread of Bolshevism and discontent.

There is another aspect of this whole matter where we can be of great service just now. Despite their intimate association and co-operation in the War, the English and the French really do not understand each other, and since the Armistice they have steadily drifted apart. The English feel that the French still nourish a feeling of revenge towards Germany and Austria, while the French feel that the English are so intent upon the develop-

ment of commerce and the building up of business that they do not appreciate the military insecurity of France. There is a chance for us here to act as intermediary and best friend of both, to assist in removing these misunderstandings, and to help keep these great peoples in intimate association and co-operation. It has been my good fortune in this visit to offer some little assistance of this kind in talking with members of the present British and French governments, and I notice that both are very grateful for the little that I have been able to say and do. Both governments have been lavish in their hospitality to me.

Our newspaper friends at once jumped to the conclusion that all this meant that I was keeping something from them and was really here on a secret mission. Of course this I flatly denied and asked them to deny, as it would be an absurd and harmful notion to get about. As you justly said, I am, however, picking up information and getting views which formally accredited diplomats could not get, simply because I am a private and unofficial person in whose discretion and friendship they are kind enough to have complete confidence.

I could tell you very much more were there time, but must content myself now with saying that the people and the press as well as the governments are enthusiastic in support of your proposal, and that both in England and here it is recognized as opening the way to the building up, through working together in the solution of these present problems, of that type of association of nations in which we so strongly believe. If there is to be any obstacle in the way of the success of the Conference it is not now obvious to me. I can see no difficulties in working out a formula for the limitation of naval armaments, for dealing with the general question of land armaments, and for securing the open door and political integrity of dependent and backward nations. The one difficult problem seems to me to be the one I have named above,—how to find a formula that will permit the expansion of Japan without exploitation or injustice to others. On this point I hope to have some concrete suggestion to offer by the time I reach home in September.

This afternoon I called upon the President of the Republic by appointment, and had a very delightful half-hour with him. I found him full of interest in these most recent developments,

and entirely sympathetic with what you are doing. I told him that I had had the pleasure of a visit with you shortly before leaving home, and that I felt sure that if you had known that I was to have the honor of being received by him personally, you would have wished me to bring a message of goodwill from the President of the United States to the President of the French Republic. He replied most cordially, of course, and asked me to convey to you at the first opportunity his sentiments of esteem and regard. This I am very happy to do.

I congratulate you most heartily upon the form, the manner and the time of your proposal, and I do believe that it is the beginning of the end of the long effort which we Americans first formally made at the Hague Conference of 1899 to carry forward the project of a genuine association of nations, and to lay the foundation for an international court of justice that will serve the whole world.

With cordial greetings from my wife and daughter to Mrs. Harding and yourself, and with the hope that all goes as well at home as seems to be the case from here,

I am,

Always sincerely yours,

Nicholas Murray Butler

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

My dear Dr. Butler:

July 21, 1921

Thank you so much for your favor of July fifth. I was more than glad to receive it.

Pray, do not allow any request for correspondence to trespass upon your time or interfere with the pleasure of your visit. If you acquire any information that I ought to possess I am sure you will advise me. Otherwise, matters can run along until you return to the States and give me the pleasure of a call at the White House.

I think we are getting along measurably well with the proposed international conference on disarmament and understanding. The proposition has been well received in every section and seems to be a thing that is not easily resisted, even where there is a disposition to resist.

I am delighted to hear you are enjoying pleasant weather. It has been exceedingly torrid here, but has not interfered with golf indulgence to any discouraging degree.

I was delighted to have your expressions regarding the sentiment you encountered in London. I should be very much interested to hear what you have to say about the Irish problem. It would be a most gratifying thing if a satisfactory settlement is worked out.

My very best regards to you, and a cordial word of greeting to Mrs. Butler and your daughter.

Most sincerely yours,  
Warren G. Harding

A full and very detailed account of all that took place during these three months in the summer of 1921 was given to Elihu Root, then President of the Carnegie Endowment, in a letter addressed to him by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant from his home at Cr  ans in the Department of the Sarthe, under date of September 7. D'Estournelles, whose personal interest in all the happenings of that summer was intense, told the story from the viewpoint of the work in Europe of the Carnegie Endowment. He emphasized again and again the importance of international visits on the part of representative men or groups as a most effective means of increasing international understanding and international interest. He pointed out how much more could be expected from personal and group contacts of this kind than from merely formal and diplomatic governmental relationships, no matter how cordial and how satisfactory these might be. He said that the French had now come to understand what were the purposes of the Carnegie Endowment and what its methods of work in the education of public opinion. He expressed the belief that already this educational work in France had had very marked results, and he hoped that it might be multiplied and ex-

tended to include nations other than France and Great Britain.

D'Estournelles emphasized particularly the importance of insistence upon an international economic program which would promote trade and commerce, lead the way to a stabilization of currencies and push into the background the ambitions of various groups in different nations for territorial expansion.

In his report to Mr. Root, d'Estournelles went into much detail regarding my visit to France and repeated again and again how unique and unprecedented all these happenings were. It would not be becoming to repeat here some of the expressions which d'Estournelles used regarding various happenings during the visit. It must be sufficient to record the fact that he felt that real progress had been made toward the ends which the Endowment kept steadily before it. He also expressed the opinion that the way had been paved for genuine co-operation with the government of the United States in the international conference which President Harding had proposed, and believed that that might well be the beginning of a new and constructive movement that would restore order and peace to the world.

#### LECTURES ON THE WATSON FOUNDATION, 1923

One of the very helpful acts in England to aid in giving to the English people an increased knowledge of American history and literature and institutions was the establishment by Sir George Watson of a foundation for this purpose. The work began in 1921 through the appointment of Lord Bryce as Watson lecturer in British universities. President Arthur Twining Hadley of Yale University followed in 1922, and it was my honor to be Watson lecturer in 1923. The subject of my lectures was *Building*

*the American Nation*,<sup>1</sup> and I endeavored, with the point of view and background of a foreign audience in mind, to make plain in systematic fashion the several steps by which the American nation was built, the foundations upon which it was built and the personalities and service of its outstanding builders. The first of these lectures was given at the Mansion House in London on May 24, and then lectures followed at the Universities of Cambridge, of Cardiff, of Liverpool, of Manchester, of Glasgow, of St. Andrews, of Edinburgh and of Leeds. The University of Oxford was omitted since there already existed there an endowed professorship in this general field of knowledge. The audiences were uniformly large and most appreciative, and followed each lecture closely. The local newspapers responded with one or more articles dealing with American institutions and the part which America was playing in the modern world.

The good effects of this undertaking were so obvious that its example has been followed year after year by the Carnegie Endowment. A long succession of American scholars has been chosen to visit English institutions of learning of every sort and kind, and to present some aspect or many aspects of our American life, literature and political system. These lecturers have aroused very great interest in Great Britain. One result has been that gifts by the Endowment of books in this field of knowledge to libraries and other public institutions of various sorts and kinds have become very welcome. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the knowledge of American life and history means more in Great Britain today than has ever been the case before. It has been pointed out to the British people again and again that from the beginning of English history until 1776 English and Amer-

<sup>1</sup>New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923, 1939.

ican literature and history were one and the same. After these peoples were separated by the independence of the United States, the American people kept up the study of English history and literature but the British people did not respond by the study of American history and literature. The results of this lack of knowledge have frequently shown themselves in all sorts and kinds of ways. The name of George Washington was known in England and frequently that of Abraham Lincoln. A few had heard of Emerson, others of Walt Whitman and Edgar Allan Poe; but the life of the American people in anything like its entirety was a closed book to the British people until some twenty-five years ago. The change for the better is literally enormous, and the results cannot fail to show themselves in national policy and in national conduct as the years go on.

My volume, *Building the American Nation*, has been translated into French with the title *Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique*,<sup>1</sup> into German with the title *Der Aufbau des Amerikanischen Staates*<sup>2</sup> and into Spanish with the title *Los Constructores de los Estados Unidos*.<sup>3</sup>

#### GERMANY AFTER THE GREAT WAR

My long, intimate and fortunate association with Germany and the leaders of its intellectual life came to an end with the outbreak of war on August 1, 1914. The group of intellectuals who framed an address to the American people in defense of the policy of the German government caused that address to be sent to me through the University of Upsala, with the request that I make it known to leaders in our American intellectual life. I re-

<sup>1</sup>Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1925.

<sup>2</sup>Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1927.

<sup>3</sup>Translated by Professor Jorge Roa, University of Havana (New York, 1935).

plied, in a respectful but most emphatic note, expressing my opinion as to the policy which the German government was pursuing and declining to take any action whatever in respect to the address sent me.

Following the war, I made no plans to return to Germany, since I did not think that I could do so with pleasure or even comfort. The break with the Germany which I had known and loved was complete.

In the month of May, 1926, I received a call from the German Ambassador at Washington, Baron von Maltzan, who had written a very charming review of the German edition of my lectures entitled *The American as He Is*,<sup>1</sup> delivered at Copenhagen in 1908. He was a most agreeable gentleman and, unhappily, later lost his life through an airplane accident in Germany. In the course of our conversation the Ambassador asked me whether I had ever returned to Germany since the war ended. I told him that I had not, and gave the reasons for so doing. I said that I was very much in the position of a man who had offended his hostess and could not return to her house. The Ambassador quickly replied, "But would you not go if you were asked?" I replied that I should be delighted to return to Germany under such circumstances, for then I felt sure that I should be welcome. A few days later there came a cable from Doctor Stresemann, whom I had not then met, inviting me to come to Berlin as the guest of the German government in the month of July. I at once accepted this most welcome invitation, both for myself and for my wife and daughter. I suggested a date in the middle of July.

When we reached Paris, the German Ambassador there called upon me to say that Doctor Stresemann would like

<sup>1</sup>*Die Amerikaner*, translated by Doctor Wilhelm Paszkowski (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910).

me to come to Berlin as soon as possible, since he wished me to see the new German government in operation and that the Reichstag would adjourn early in July. Thereupon, our plans were changed and we went at once to Berlin, arriving on June 24. We were given a charming apartment in the Hotel Adlon, and within an hour after our arrival a representative of the Foreign Office came to be my guide, philosopher and friend during the visit. I told him that, first of all, I must go to the Foreign Office and pay my respects to Doctor Stresemann for whose political leadership I had already formed a great admiration, but whom I had never met in person.

We quickly covered the short distance between the Hotel Adlon and the Foreign Office in Wilhelmstrasse. On entering Doctor Stresemann's private room, I was greeted by him with the utmost cordiality and invited to sit down. Looking at Doctor Stresemann, I said, "Mr. Chancellor, before I take my seat, I must tell you that the first time I ever came into this room was as a young American student to be presented by his country's Minister here to Prince Bismarck." Doctor Stresemann clicked his heels together and saluted, saying, "I salute any one who knew Prince Bismarck!" Of course, Doctor Stresemann was a mere youth when Bismarck died.

During most of the days that followed I was in Doctor Stresemann's company a large part of the time, and gained an intimate insight into his mental processes, his political ideals and his powers of leadership. He said that one thing he was very anxious about was that I, having known the old Germany so well, should see the new German government in actual operation. On that afternoon, therefore, and also on the following day he arranged that I should be taken to the private room of the President of the Reichstag, and that a small group of



*Stresemann*

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, 1878-1929  
German Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1923-1929



representatives of each of the seven parties into which the membership of the Reichstag was then divided should come there in turn for conference and to answer any questions which I might wish to ask. This gave me a real lesson in practical German politics. The first group consisted of followers of Count Westarp from the extreme Right. Then followed groups from each of the other parties until, on the following afternoon, I reached the representatives of the Communists who were, of course, the extreme Left. One aim which I had in my questions and discussions was to try to ascertain why there were seven parties in Germany rather than two or at most three.

It has always been my conviction that for the practical and successful operation of popular government only two parties are essential—the one Conservative and the other Liberal. If the Conservative party be in power and holds back too long and too hard in dealing with new questions of policy, then the people at their first opportunity will put the Liberal party in power. If, then, the Liberal party goes ahead too far and too fast, the people will return the Conservative party to power. In this way there may be an orderly and, on the whole, very successful working of a government controlled by public opinion. Human nature being what it is, there may easily be a third party composed of those who are not willing to associate themselves with either conservatives or liberals.

What I could not understand, however, was why in that Reichstag no fewer than seven parties were represented. I did my best to get those with whom I conferred to make clear to me why they could not agree with their neighbors. After hearing their various and sometimes very complicated explanations I came to the conclusion that not a few of the reasons for these seven-party divisions

were merely sentimental or, so to speak, psychological. The Communist doctrine, of course, is wholly anti-democratic and would naturally be represented in the Reichstag apart from any of the other parties. While, therefore, I did not find any very illuminating explanation of the divisions of opinion in the Reichstag of 1926, I did get a genuine insight into the working of the German political mind of that day.

Doctor Stresemann was very much interested in my report to him of these experiences, and not a little amused at some of the comments which I made on the various parliamentary leaders. I had to tell Doctor Stresemann quite frankly that, conditions being what I had found them to be, I could not see how the Constitution of Weimar was going to work successfully for any great length of time. He expressed his concern at this opinion and his hope that events would prove me to be wrong. Unhappily, this was not the case.

Sunday, June 27, brought a most interesting and quite unprecedented experience. When we separated on Saturday afternoon Doctor Stresemann said to me that on Sunday I was to be turned over to friends of the Hohenzollern dynasty, and that all those whom I was to meet were either open enemies of the existing German government or its severe critics. Acting upon his instructions, I put myself in the hands of three very distinguished gentlemen who called for me after luncheon on Sunday in a luxurious motor car. Each one of the three had occupied an important position in the old Germany. One had been a naval officer of consequence; one an army officer of renown; and the third a member of the diplomatic service. We drove out to the Wannsee Golf Club at Potsdam, where a very considerable company had gathered because of a golf tournament which was just coming to an end.

I was presented to some thirty or forty very interesting and attractive men and women assembled there, and watched with interest the simple ceremonies attendant upon hailing the winners in the golf tournament and presenting them with emblems of their victory. A little after six o'clock my three hosts drove me over to the river Havel where we boarded a private steam yacht and after a trip of several miles down the river, stopped at the wharf of the fine country place of Doctor Gutmann, President of the Dresdner Bank in Berlin. We walked for a time about the charming grounds and through the grove of beautiful trees and flowers, and then gathered for dinner at Doctor Gutmann's table. His guests numbered perhaps forty, and if they had all been undertakers on duty, they could not have been dressed in deeper black! Knowing, of course, that I had come out from Berlin during the afternoon, they all wore morning clothes. Despite the fact that practically every one of this company had some kind of title or had held some distinguished position, there was not a single bit of color to be seen or any ornament of any kind. They had no ribbons and no medals. Everything of that sort had been put behind them. To my great delight, they talked very frankly, feeling, I suppose, secure by reason of the fact that, except myself, they were all of one political mind. The talk was free and vigorous—often to the point of indiscretion. This made it, to me, all the more interesting. After we had left the table a most remarkable incident took place.

There was in that company a gentleman of whom I had heard much and whom I had always wanted to meet. His name was Baron von Brandenstein, and he had, I believe, general supervision over the Kaiser's personal properties and investments, all of which he was said to administer. In our talk after dinner he made some remark

which justified me in asking him what might otherwise have been a very improper question. "What," I inquired, "Your Excellency, do you regard as the likelihood of the restoration of a Hohenzollern to the throne?" It almost took my breath away to have him reply without an instant's hesitation, "None whatever." "Why not?" I asked, greatly surprised. "Because," he said, "they all ran away. If any one of them had been killed or wounded or captured, yes; but under the circumstances that took place, no." Then I pressed this question, "Why was General von Hindenburg chosen President of the Reich?" "Because," was the reply, "he was the one man to whom the whole German people could look up. We have been looking up to some one for a thousand years, and that some one has been a king or an emperor. Now that we have lost the Emperor, we have chosen as the head of our government the only other person to whom we can all look up." This very illuminating conversation led to much reflection on my part, in an endeavor to comprehend just what might be the psychological basis of the existing political situation in Germany.

On the following day at luncheon I gave Doctor Stresemann a full account of what had taken place on Sunday afternoon and evening. He listened most eagerly, particularly to my repetition of this conversation about the possibility of the return of a Hohenzollern to the throne. "I cannot tell you," said Doctor Stresemann, "how important that which you tell me is. Those gentlemen would never have said that sort of thing to me, and it is a most valuable piece of information for me to receive."

Before saying a final *Auf Wiedersehen* to Doctor Stresemann—and unhappily I was never again to see him in full health and strength—I put to him this question, "How firmly established in Germany is the republican form of

government?" Doctor Stresemann looked off into the distance, reflected for a moment, and then said: "I think it is pretty firmly established; but, of course, it is weakened by the policy of the Allies in keeping their troops on the east bank of the Rhine. That leads our reactionaries to say: 'What is the use of the Pact of Locarno? What is the use of the League of Nations? Look at these foreign troops still in our country!' It is the constant repetition of that sort of thing," said Doctor Stresemann, "which makes the continued operation of our democratic form of government difficult."

After leaving Berlin, I reflected for a long time upon the significance of this statement, which I had opportunity to discuss not long afterward with Briand in Paris, with Jaspar in Brussels and with Sir Austen Chamberlain in London. I have no accurate knowledge of what took place, but strongly suspect that these gentlemen had some sort of counsel together—because, one day, several months later, the newspapers announced that some 22,000 Allied troops had been withdrawn from the east bank of the Rhine. Imagine my surprise and delight when, following that statement, there came this cable from Berlin!

President Butler  
Columbia University  
New York

*Ich verstehe. Gott sei Dank.*

STRESEMANN

Obviously, a passing remark may, quietly and unnoticed, make its way to writing history.

To my deep disappointment, the original of this cablegram, together with other very important and interesting records, was accidentally destroyed several years ago. It was one of my most precious possessions.

My only other return to Germany was in 1930. The circumstances were most exceptional. Doctor Curtius, who had succeeded Stresemann as the head of the foreign office—the latter having died a year earlier—followed in Stresemann's footsteps by bringing together a group of parliamentarians and leading citizens whose object was to make the new Germany better known to the rest of the world, and the rest of the world better known to the new Germany. They took the extraordinary step of inviting a representative of England, one of France and one of the United States to address the Reichstag when in formal session. This was quite unprecedented in their parliamentary history. From England Viscount Cecil of Chelwood was chosen; from France M. Briand; and from the United States myself. Lord Cecil went to Berlin for this purpose in 1929, and my visit was made in 1930—my speech to the Reichstag being made on April 30. Briand had accepted for 1931, but was prevented from keeping his engagement and, unhappily, died in 1932.

This visit to Berlin followed an exceptionally interesting visit to Italy, which is elsewhere described,<sup>1</sup> and a short visit to Paris where I talked over with Briand what I was proposing to say to the Reichstag.

When we arrived in Berlin, both my wife and daughter as well as myself were overwhelmed with kindly attention and given one opportunity after another to meet interesting and important groups of Berlin's representative citizens. I took occasion, on behalf of the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment, to lay a wreath on the grave of Doctor Stresemann in sad memory of all that he had done for his people and for the world.

The Reichstag met in special session at eight o'clock in the evening. With great promptness Doctor Erich

<sup>1</sup>See p. 160.

Koch-Weser, President of the Democratic Party in Germany, took the chair and presented me most graciously. The subject of my address was *Imponderabilien*.<sup>1</sup> I took as my text a sentence used by Bismarck in speaking to the Reichstag on February 6, 1888, as well as a sentence from the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and one from the writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes. The thought which ran through this address was that it is the imponderables which matter most in the history of civilization, and that the peace of the world cannot rest with permanence upon any theory of domination by force—whether that force be military or economic or racial or religious. Any such domination is always a temptation to its own disturbance and overthrow. Peace can only rest secure upon a liberal, enlightened and convinced public opinion. I pressed the question whether the time had not come when Europe might take the next long step forward in promoting national satisfaction and international comfort through the building of an economic United States of Europe, which should do for the teeming and highly civilized populations of those countries what the Constitution of the United States had done in America. It was possible to quote in support of that ideal many of the great names in German history—those of Lessing and Herder, of Goethe and Schiller, of Hegel and Schleiermacher, of Fichte and Immanuel Kant. The members of the Reichstag were most patient in their attention and most kindly in their comments when the address was over. It was warmly received by the German press.

On the following morning I was received by President von Hindenburg, with whom I had a long and very in-

<sup>1</sup>*The Path to Peace* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 277-301. Also in English translation, pp. 193-213.

teresting conversation. We talked very freely of the problems which confronted Germany, and frequently mentioned various episodes of the war which bore some relation to the matters of which we were speaking. Before we parted, I said to the President that I greatly wished he might extend the Hindenburg Line across the Atlantic and come to see us in the United States. He laughed heartily at this and said that he could not hope to do that since he had never been in the navy and did not know how to cross the Atlantic! He added that there were three things in America which he greatly desired to see—one was the high buildings on the island of Manhattan, another was the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and the third was the Yosemite Valley in California. I noticed that he had in his library an arrangement for throwing pictures on a large screen, and said that I thought since it was not possible for him to go to see these outstanding features of the United States, they might come to see him. A few months later I was able to send him some lantern-slides of all three, and shortly thereafter I received word that it gave him the greatest possible pleasure to look at them on the screen in his own library. President Hindenburg was a most gracious personality and did not in the least give the appearance of being a man of the ultra-military type.

During those days in Berlin there were three important gatherings arranged for my pleasure and entertainment. One was a large tea at Kroll's given by the Hochschule fuer Politik. Another was a dinner given by the Minister of the Interior, Doctor Wirth, and the third, a dinner by invitation of the Foreign Office in the Hotel Adlon. Almost all of the leading personalities in the German government of that day were included in these groups. It was a great satisfaction to meet them and to talk freely with

them about their national and international problems.

After a most agreeable dinner with our Ambassador, Frederic M. Sackett of Kentucky, and an address at the Amerika Institut, I left Berlin for London with the happiest of recollections.

Unfortunately, despite the strong and eager forces that were at work in the Germany of 1930 to bring about a reconstituted Europe and to remove by conference and negotiation the blunders of the Treaty of Versailles, there were already at work other forces whose aim was to produce the revolution which proved to be not far off. It will always remain my firm conviction that had Stresemann and Briand been spared for another decade to maintain and to strengthen their mutual confidence and their commanding leadership in their respective countries, conditions in Europe and the world would be very different today from what they so unhappily are.

#### MUSSOLINI AND THE NEW ITALY

After leaving Genoa on August 12, 1914, under the extraordinary circumstances elsewhere described,<sup>1</sup> I did not return to Italy until 1927. The circumstances attendant upon that return are of more than personal interest.

It had been my good fortune and honor to deliver the address at the celebration of the one hundred and eighty-fourth birthday of Thomas Jefferson at the University of Virginia on April 13, 1927. My topic was "New Critics of Democracy,"<sup>2</sup> and I took occasion to offer an examination and criticism of the underlying principles both of

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter V, "When War Came in 1914."

<sup>2</sup>See *Looking Forward* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 183-197.

Communism and of Fascism. In speaking of Fascism, I gave all credit to Mussolini for the very extraordinary service which he had rendered to the Italian people by improving their domestic administration in a great variety of ways. At the same time, I joined issue with the fundamental doctrines of Fascism and made my objections both definite and emphatic. Not long afterward, the Italian Ambassador at Washington, Signor Martino, came to see me and in the course of our conversation remarked, almost casually, that Mussolini did not like what I had said about Fascism in my address at the University of Virginia. "But how does Mussolini know anything about it?" I said, with startled surprise. The Ambassador replied with a smile: "I reported it to him. He wants you to come to Rome and talk the whole matter over. He appreciates the kind things you said about his domestic administrative policies, but he objects very strongly to your criticisms of the underlying principles of Fascism as a political doctrine. He wishes to discuss them with you face to face. Will you not go to Rome for that purpose?" I replied that I should be delighted to do so and straightway made the necessary arrangements.

Following my usual annual visit to Paris, I left there with my wife and daughter by the Rome Express on the afternoon of June 18 and reached the Termini at Rome early on the following evening. To our great surprise we were greeted on the platform by a representative of the Foreign Office, as well as by several military and civil aides, who straightway took charge of all arrangements for our comfort and welfare. It appeared that we were guests of the government. A charming apartment at the Hotel Excelsior had been assigned to us, and we entered upon one of the busiest of programs during our stay of ten days.

My first audience with Mussolini was on the afternoon of June 21 at the Palazzo Chigi. At that time Mussolini was personally the administrative head of eight or nine government departments and was kept intensely busy every hour of the day in going over details of administration sufficient in number and importance to occupy half a dozen men instead of one man. All my audiences with Mussolini in later years were held at the Palazzo Venezia, but this first one was at the Palazzo Chigi, then the headquarters of the Foreign Office.

When I entered the imposing room where I was to be received, Mussolini, quite alone, was in a distant corner, seated behind a table on which there was no object whatever, neither pen nor ink nor pad nor paper nor book. He was dressed in riding costume, with high boots, and rose to greet me with great cordiality. He did not waste more than thirty seconds in the conventional formalities of a first audience, asking me whether I had had a pleasant voyage, whether my wife and daughter were well and whether I was comfortably settled in Rome. Then, looking at me severely, Mussolini said, speaking in French: "You made a speech in America in which you said that Fascism was a false philosophy. What do you mean by that?" This was followed by a bang on the table with his right hand. I made my reply with equal emphasis. In three or four minutes we were debating vigorously in anything but formal fashion. This lasted nearly an hour. It was plain that my views made no impression on Mussolini, and his made none on me. Nevertheless, we shook hands cordially and parted in friendliest fashion after what proved to be the first of numerous audiences extending over several years. I must say of Mussolini that he is the only outstanding political leader or dictator whom I have ever met who would permit free

and open debate with him on his doctrines and principles and yet keep up friendly relations. Both on this occasion and many times thereafter Mussolini has treated me with the greatest kindness and consideration, although he knows perfectly well what I feel and think about the Fascist philosophy.

Mussolini was very much concerned that I should see the Fascist organization in practical operation. For this reason, he put me in charge of one of the Foreign Office staff, who took me to several of the buildings in which the various business, labor and professional corporate organizations characteristic of the Fascist State had their headquarters, in order that I might talk with their representatives and executives and see the machine actually working. This I did not only in Rome, but later in Florence and at Bologna and Milan. These visits were of great value because they enabled me to see the wheels of Fascism go round, so to speak.

One remark of mine amused Mussolini immensely. He said, "Tell me frankly, what do you notice as the greatest change in Italy since you were here before the war?" With a laugh, I answered, "Few things are more striking than the absence of men stretched out on a station platform sleeping in the hot sun with their faces and heads covered with flies." Mussolini roared with laughter and said, "No, I stopped that." And he had.

In one of these audiences I asked Mussolini how he found it physically possible to carry the load which he had assumed for himself. He told me that he was doing it only for a limited time and in order to get a clear understanding of the organization and work of the several governmental departments. He explained to me his mode of life, which showed how completely he had adjusted himself to his job. At that time, he rose fairly early in

the morning and, after a cup of coffee, went for an hour's ride in the outskirts of Rome. This gave him his exercise. Then after a light breakfast he came into the city and began his departmental conferences. These were conducted at one governmental building during the morning, when, after a very light luncheon, he went to the Palazzo Chigi—in later years to the Palazzo Venezia—to deal with the work of three or four other departments. At five o'clock, he was ready for any audience which had been arranged for a visitor like myself. At six-thirty, he returned home and, after dinner, played the piano or violin for the better part of an hour and then went to bed. At that time he accepted no social invitations of any kind. I learned this because, when he told me of the formal banquet which had been arranged in my honor, he said that he could not be present in person without violating his rules of life, obedience to which he found essential.

Mussolini was greatly interested to know of my friendship with Prince Gelasio Caetani, who had made so brilliant a record in the engineering corps of the Italian army during the Great War and who was then just about to undertake the task of reclaiming the Pontine marshes. He was much impressed when I told him that Caetani had been graduated in engineering at Columbia University and had begun his professional work in the state of California. While Italian Ambassador at Washington in 1923, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causâ*, from Columbia. When in Italy, I always saw a great deal of Prince Caetani until his death in 1934, and through him kept pretty well in touch with some of the more important policies and undertakings of the Italian Government. He explained to me in detail the whole work of reconstructing Rome and of bringing about the vast improvements there which have marked the past

twenty years and have made Rome a very different looking place from what it had been.

I found that Mussolini had some information, not very complete or exact, relative to the organization and work in Europe of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Speaking in general terms, he approved the policies which the Endowment was pursuing, but was very critical of the presence on the Comité d'Administration—the name of which was afterward changed to Comité du Centre Européen—of Count Carlo Sforza. He emphasized the fact that, whatever might be Sforza's ability and experience, he was an outstanding opponent of Fascism and therefore a most inappropriate representative of Italy if Italian co-operation was desired by the Endowment. My answer was that Count Sforza was a most valuable member of our European staff, that his experience as diplomat in Asia and in Europe and his service as Foreign Minister of Italy and finally as Italian Ambassador to France, had given him a range of information and an outlook which were quite indispensable. Mussolini assented to this, but still objected to Sforza as an Italian representative in the work of the Endowment. It occurred to me then to ask Mussolini whether it would not meet his objections if, while keeping Sforza on our Comité du Centre Européen, we were to invite another Italian whom he, Mussolini, would approve, to serve also as a member of that group. Mussolini, after a moment's hesitation, said, "Yes, I think that would be all right." Then I said, "Would it not be satisfactory if we were to invite the Marchese Minciattelli, Your Excellency's intimate friend and frequent adviser, to come upon our Committee?" Mussolini at once expressed his great pleasure at this suggestion, which he most highly approved. I told him that it might take a little while to bring the appoint-

ment about, but that I was sure it could be accomplished. Not very long afterward the Marchese Misiattelli joined the Comité du Centre Européen on invitation of the Trustees of the Endowment and served as an effective member of it until his death in 1937. At the meetings of the Comité, Sforza and Misiattelli got on admirably together and gave no sign of dissatisfaction or friction with each other. Misiattelli had the outlook of a man of letters rather than that of a statesman like Sforza, but this fact did not diminish his interest in the work of the Endowment or his usefulness, particularly in matters with which Mussolini might be supposed to have concern.

During this visit to Rome in 1927, I renewed my friendship with Cardinal Gasquet, whom I had known in England before Pope Leo XIII called him to Rome to have charge of the elaborate and thorough revision of the Vulgate, with which his name will always hereafter be associated. The Cardinal had also visited us in New York, but that was before his elevation to the cardinalate. With him, I made a careful inspection of the Vatican Library, of which he was then the director and of which more will be said elsewhere!<sup>1</sup>

There were delightful entertainments at the University of Rome, at the American Embassy where my long-time friend, Henry P. Fletcher, was then Ambassador, at the houses of various Italian friends, as well as at those of others, some English and some American, resident in Rome.

On June 25, His Holiness Pope Pius XI received my wife, my daughter and myself in audience, when some thirty minutes were spent in most informal and intimate conversation. His Holiness, who had himself been director of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, was keenly interested

<sup>1</sup>See p. 180.

in the work which was being planned in connection with the Vatican Library itself and also in the work of the Carnegie Endowment, with which His Holiness had greater familiarity than I had thought to be possible. From this and subsequent audiences with His Holiness, I gained the greatest admiration for his elevation of mind and spirit, as well as for his intellectual insight and power. Many of his comments on men and things were quite extraordinary.

The relationships established by this visit in 1927, not only with Mussolini and the Vatican, but with the University of Rome and the intellectual leaders of Italian life, remain a happy and fortunate memory and have been renewed in later years whenever opportunity has permitted. Other visits to Rome followed in 1930 and in 1934, each with a special purpose.

In 1930, my aim, acting upon a suggestion made to me by M. Briand, was to interest His Holiness and other leading personalities at the Vatican in the Pact of Paris for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, since their formal and open support of this treaty would have vast and world-wide influence. In addition to two very memorable receptions by His Holiness Pope Pius XI, I had opportunity to meet at least a dozen leading personalities at the Vatican, including a number of cardinals and the heads of various orders of the Church. Cardinal Van Rossum, a member of the Redemptorist Order, was then the head of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide and became thereby responsible for the oversight of the Catholic missions throughout the world. This Congregation is also responsible for those countries which are not subject to canon law, which of course are a considerable area of the world. Both England and the United States until very recent times were classed with such

countries. Cardinal Van Rossum, when I had the honor of meeting him, was charged with the jurisdiction of Catholic interests in the Far East and Africa, as well as in India and many other countries of the British Empire. He himself was of Dutch ancestry and an ecclesiastical scholar of outstanding dignity and ability.

Cardinal Cerretti was then regarded in Rome as the one best qualified to give information on the affairs of English-speaking countries. He had spent several years as Secretary of the Apostolic Delegation at Washington and was for some years diplomatic representative of the Vatican in Australia. He knew England thoroughly well and had an intimate acquaintance with France, where he had been Papal Nuncio. In Paris he succeeded in bringing about a working agreement, which almost amounted to a tacit concordat, with the French Government on the difficult questions of ownership of Church property and the position of the religious orders in France. Cardinal Cerretti was attacked by the remaining Royalists in France, who accused him of stirring the Vatican against the Action Française. His influence was plain to see.

During that visit, no one impressed me so profoundly as did the Very Reverend Father Ledóchowski, the General of the Jesuits. When I entered the room in which I was to be received, his face and the shape of his head seemed to me to indicate a spirit and an intelligence of the loftiest type. He received me at the Mother House of the Society of Jesus in Rome and greeted me almost as an old friend, although I never before had had the privilege of meeting him. His knowledge of persons and events, his memory and his accuracy of perception were almost incredible. Everywhere in Rome, I was told that Father Ledóchowski would take rank as one of the two or three greatest of the heads of the Jesuit Order. I found him

most intensely interested in the Pact of Paris and wholly ready to co-operate in every way possible in extending and in strengthening the influence of that Pact in all civilized nations. There was one incident of our conversation which touched me very deeply. Quite accidentally apparently, Father Ledóchowski mentioned the name of Eduard Zeller, my one-time teacher at the University of Berlin, whose name and fame I have always held in most affectionate remembrance. "But," I said, "Father, did you ever know Professor Zeller?" "Oh, yes," he replied, "I was in his classes at the University of Berlin." "So was I!" I replied. So everything else was dropped for some minutes while Father Ledóchowski and I went back, hand in hand, so to speak, to our student days in Berlin nearly a half-century earlier. It turned out that Father Ledóchowski had been a student at the University of Berlin a year or two after I had returned to America. His is a truly glorious personality and one who comes under his personal influence is certain to be exalted by it and by the memory of it.

Every one of the great ecclesiastics with whom I discussed the Pact of Paris was most sympathetic and made helpful suggestions. When, before leaving Rome, I had my last audience of His Holiness, he inquired particularly as to what reception my appeal for support for the Pact of Paris had met and what the various cardinals and others had said as to how the cause of international peace could be advanced. He expressed himself as much pleased by the report which I was able to make. From that day to this, in a series of noteworthy appeals which Pope Pius XI and his successor, Pope Pius XII, have issued from the Vatican, the cause of international understanding and international peace has been notably strengthened and advanced. The Church may be persecuted by despots, but it can never be turned into an engine of war.

In the spring of 1930, having had the opportunity and the honor to advise His Holiness of the history of the Pact of Paris for the renunciation of war, I ventured to offer a suggestion which Briand had proposed. This was that it would be a marvelous help to the cause of peace if His Holiness might find a way to endorse and interpret the Pact of Paris which would attract the attention of the whole world and produce a lasting effect upon public opinion. His Holiness did just this in a most eloquent and persuasive Allocution made public on December 24, 1930, the subject of which was peace. It was an address of exceptional power. The response to it was immediate and world-wide. A few weeks later His Holiness was good enough to express to me through the Apostolic Delegate at Washington his appreciation of my having brought the Pact of Paris to his attention, as well as of my purpose to publish the Allocution in *International Conciliation*, through which it would reach a large audience outside of the membership of the Church.

My visit of 1934 to Rome was a direct consequence of the tragic failure of the economic conference called to meet in London in June, 1933. Had that conference been successful, instead of a total failure, the world of today would be quite different from what it is. Those who so grievously made it impossible for that conference to succeed have a literally frightful responsibility to bear. It should have been the beginning of a new and powerful world economic organization which would have opened the door to genuine progress toward prosperity and peace. When that conference failed, my own feeling was one of deep disappointment. On returning to the United States, I discussed the situation as it then was with a number of my associates in the work of the Carnegie Endowment and made the suggestion that perhaps it was too much to expect that a world-wide economic organization could

be effected at one stroke. Might it not be better to attempt to build up several regional economic understandings and co-operation, with a view to adding them together later on in a single and far wider plan of international co-operation? With this in mind, I made to Mussolini through the Marchese Misiattelli the suggestion that perhaps he was the man to take the initiative in this field of endeavor. He could count upon the support of his people and he absolutely controlled the government of Italy. Might it not be worth while for him to attempt to bring about an economic pact between Italy and the Danubian States? These States had been left by the post-war treaties almost wholly agricultural, while Italy had a magnificent industrial development, particularly in Piedmont. Moreover, as I pointed out, Mussolini controlled two excellent points of entry, Trieste and Fiume, from which world-wide trade might be built up for the Danubian States and for Italy without the cost and delay of rail transportation to ports on the North Sea, on the Channel or on the Atlantic. Almost at once I received a letter from Misiattelli saying that there was great interest in my suggestion and would I not come promptly to Italy to discuss it. I pointed out the unwisdom of my doing so since, having made the suggestion, farther steps should be left to the government authorities charged with the responsibility for action. A few weeks later Misiattelli wrote me saying that Mussolini had arranged to have Dollfuss and Goemboes come to Rome in March for a conference on this subject and greatly hoped that I could be there at that time. This hint was sufficient. I had a busy and most interesting ten days in Rome and met both Dollfuss and Goemboes many times. The result was that they worked out with Mussolini the controlling principles of an Italian-Danubian States Pact and turned

those principles over to the members of their technical staffs to deal with in detail. Just as this most promising undertaking got under way, Dollfuss was murdered as a result of the beginning of revolution in Austria, and the whole matter collapsed. This was another tragedy.

In view of what was soon to happen, it is worth while to record a remark which Mussolini made to me in conversation at the Palazzo Venezia on March 14, 1934. Quite of his own accord, he said this: "There must be no more wars. Another war would not only ruin Italy, but it would destroy civilization." I did not know at that moment how far matters were proceeding toward another war in the very near future.

Like a bolt from the blue, the following letter, written in Italian, reached me toward the close of August, 1935:

[Translation]

Rome

August 16, 1935

Dear President

As Italian member of the European Center of the Carnegie Endowment, I think it proper to inform you in regard to the spiritual and political situation in my country in this particularly delicate period. I must, first of all, congratulate you on the statement made by you to the American journalists on your return to New York, reported prominently by the Italian press, which I called attention to in a statement sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. As always, you have been able to put the problem of peace in its essential terms in accordance with the principles of international justice among nations, that is, a more equal distribution of raw materials among the nations which have reached a high civilization and which in virtue of their demographic power find themselves in the vital necessity of colonial expansion. Your observation that today there exist nations fully provided with colonies like England and France, and with wealth in raw materials, so necessary to the economic development of a country of advanced industrial civilization, and poor nations, is extremely accurate and touches the vital point

of the situation today. But when in addition to Italy you have noted among the nations poor in these resources Japan and Germany, it is necessary to recognize that Germany is not lacking in iron and coal like Italy, and Japan after its violent penetration in Manchuria and China is already in a privileged situation and it may be said that she has begun to solve her vital problem. In this respect Italy is the only country in the civilized world which finds itself through its demographic force; through the fact of being shut into the Mediterranean, that is, in a small lake; through its absolute lack of raw materials, in an exceptional situation unfavorable to the development of the marvelous productive forces which its population of forty-three million inhabitants possesses.

The Duce in thirteen years of government has completed, as everybody recognizes, a marvelous work of national reconstruction founded upon the disciplined industrial power of the working masses, seconded by the admirable spirit of sacrifice and collaboration of the governing classes of the country, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. Almost all the uncultivated lands have been redeemed. The accomplishments of the régime are well known. In the semi-desert colonies of Tripolitania and Cirenaica, there has been carried out so far as possible a marvelous operation of colonization—but they are colonies rich in sand and not in raw materials.

Mussolini, pursuing a policy of peace, had done everything possible to come to an agreement with the Negus of Ethiopia, in order to develop and civilize that rich country. All his efforts have encountered in that land of slave traders insurmountable obstacles secretly fostered by the insatiable cupidities of wealthy England together with Japan. Today an English Minister recognizes *a parole* the right of Italy to a just expansion, but only *a parole*. From the end of the Great War until today—seventeen years have elapsed—the policy of England has shown itself in Europe and in the whole world as an economically ferocious egotism and worse yet, seeks to make of the League of Nations, intended for a mission of peace and international justice, a superinternational instrument of this incomprehensible and blind egotism of hers.

The recent policy of the British Empire in reference to Italy

in the Abyssinian question is the most complete demonstration of this blindness, which by encouraging the Emperor of the Abyssinians threatens to compromise the traditional friendship between two European countries and to cause the gravest complications in Europe. Today more than ever all of Italy is rallied around the Duce, determined to do anything in order to defend its honor and that of the white race against the negroes, and to assure its own sacred right to live. All of Italy is with the Duce because it knows that he is not moved by imperialistic vanity but by the compelling need of solving the problem of vital expansion for his industrious and healthy people.

As you, dear President, have clearly seen, it is a problem of life which weighs upon Italy in that single angle of the Black Continent on which nations, older and more fortunate than Italy, have extended their hands long since, possessing themselves after the World War of all the rich German colonies without leaving one bit of that booty to Italy, which in behalf of international justice had sacrificed 600,000 citizens on the field of battle.

I am persuaded that we shall not obtain peace and civil progress if the prosperous nations do not change their political and economic conduct toward the great proletarian nations. The problem which Mussolinian Fascism has admirably solved in the internal affairs of Italy between the rich classes and the poor classes by inducing the former to sacrifice themselves and collaborate cordially with the latter, and which has brought social peace to Italy, is a problem which, if real peace is desired—not that of pacifists *a parole* who did not prevent the World War in 1914—must be seriously considered by sincere and realistic lovers of peace and established between the rich nations and the poor. I venture to say that this is the nucleus of the problem on which depend world peace and the triumph of civil justice.

I do not know how it is possible in loyalty and good faith to assume a haughty attitude toward a country undermined by excessive cupidity and interests of material nature. Meanwhile, the Triple Conference in Paris does not begin under favorable auspices. The *Times* this morning contains veiled threats of recourse to force on the part of England if Italy does not yield to her desire to offer a few bits of desert land or illusory economic

concessions. The attitude of the English Government is extremely dangerous because it shows a lack of comprehension of the decision of a man like Mussolini and the historic zone in which lives and burns the Italian youth of today. We must not forget that today Germany in arms cannot frown upon a colonial demand of Italy, and threatening clouds are becoming thicker on the European horizon.

You, dear President, with the prestige which comes to you from a long life consecrated to the ideal of peace, are more than any other man in a position to enlighten American public opinion by developing the thesis given to the American journalists after your return from Europe.

The Duce has entrusted to me recently the Presidency of the Italian Institute of Culture in Malta. I do not conceal from myself the extreme difficulty of my task in this delicate moment. At Malta the English Government has taken proceedings against the Italian language although no one thinks, Mussolini least of all, of claiming possession of that island for Italy. I shall seek to develop my work in an atmosphere of cordiality with the English, but will that be possible?

Please accept, dear President, the expression of my devoted and cordial friendship.

Piero Misciattelli

While written by Misciattelli, this letter was, as I afterward learned, sent at the instigation of Mussolini and represented his point of view at that time. To this letter I at once made the following reply:

Southampton, N. Y.  
September 2, 1935

The Marchese Misciattelli

Rome, Italy

My dear Misciattelli:

I have read with deepest interest your very important—and I must add, disquieting—letter of August 16th. You may be sure that we in this country are all following with closest attention recent developments in connection with the discussions which have arisen over Ethiopia, and that we are gravely concerned both for the welfare of Italy and for the peace of the world.

As I took occasion to point out to the American press in the statement to which you refer so kindly, no one who comes face to face with political and economic realities can fail to take note of the character of the larger problems which confront Italy and, as I pointed out, Japan and Germany as well. A rapidly expanding population on a definitely restricted territory, whose national resources are limited both in variety and in amount, must find itself face to face sooner or later with the problem of territorial expansion. In bygone days, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nations like France, Spain, Great Britain and the United States undertook to solve problems of this kind which confronted them by the use of force. Surely, however, in this twentieth century, and after all the grievous lessons taught by the Great War, it is as unbecoming as it would be futile to attempt to solve problems of this kind which now arise as they were solved centuries ago. We are living in a new, and some of us had hoped, a more advanced and a more highly civilized era, in which modern nations would settle difficult questions of this kind among themselves by frank discussion, debate and joint action, without any recourse to armed force.

Perhaps I never told you that in 1931, on the occasion of one of my most interesting talks with the Duce, when he graciously received me at the Palazzo Venezia, this very question came up. I then took occasion to invite the Duce's attention to the fact that Portugal, now a small and almost insignificant nation without growing population or world-wide ambition, held title to vast areas of productive land in West Africa which perhaps Italy might acquire by purchase or other arrangement with Portugal. The Duce seemed much interested in this suggestion, as was Sir Austen Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the British government, when I repeated it to him shortly thereafter. Since then, however, I have heard nothing farther of the matter.

What I should like to point out is that, in my judgment, world opinion is most sympathetic with the desire of the Italian government to satisfy the economic needs of its growing population. The world is filled with admirers of Italy, and particularly in Great Britain and the United States there are tens of thou-

sands of influential men and women who regard Italy with something approaching reverence because of the contributions which its people have made through the centuries to literature, to the fine arts, to science and to all that makes our modern civilization worth while.

What we do not and can not understand, however, is why the Duce should insist upon the attempt to settle these questions by armed force and by public threats which frighten and alarm the whole world. Not only is the Italian government a member of the League of Nations and all which that implies, but surely it is obligated by solemn treaties to refrain from the use of armed force or from threat of such in a situation like the present. The Italian government signed on October 26, 1896, a treaty between Italy and King Menelik which recognized the independence of Abyssinia; and that country, like Italy itself, is now a full member of the League of Nations. Ten years later on December 13, 1906, the government of Italy together with the governments of Great Britain and France entered into a formal agreement to respect and to endeavor to preserve the integrity of Abyssinia. Still later, on August 2, 1928, when the Duce himself was in power, the governments of Italy and Abyssinia signed a treaty of friendship and arbitration providing for the arbitration of all disputes which might arise between them for a period of twenty years from that date. Still later, and still more important, is the signature of the government of Italy to the Pact of Paris, by which it renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

How then, can the Duce today, with this impressive array of obligations before him, turn his back upon them all and summon the fighting forces of Italy to arm for a carefully planned war in Africa?

Is it not true, my dear Misiattelli, that if governments do not keep their plighted word in respect to such matters as these, there can be no world confidence, there can be no world prosperity, there can be no world peace and there can be no continuing civilization?

I sincerely hope that it is not yet too late for the Duce to reflect upon these considerations, to alter his policy and to set an example of the peaceful discussion of these questions which

would bring to Italy new leadership, new authority and new world acclaim. Mussolini has all this in his power today. If he should turn his back upon it, God only knows what the final outcome may be.

On March 14, 1934, when again I had the honor of being received at the Palazzo Venezia by the Duce, there was again a discussion between us of world problems and world movements of opinion. We were discussing particularly some of the problems which confronted Austria and Hungary in their relations with Germany as well as the possibility of new military outbreaks on the part of Germany and of France. During that conversation the Duce said these words which remain indelibly in my memory: "Another war would not only ruin Italy, but it would destroy European civilization." What has happened since March 14, 1934, to alter the convincing force of that pregnant statement?

Let me repeat again, my dear Misciattelli, in all affectionate regard that there are hosts of Americans and of English who would go through fire and water to help Italy solve her fundamental economic problems, but those very hosts stand aghast at the military exhortations, at the military preparations and at the military demonstrations which are now reported almost hour by hour in the press of the world. Believe me, unless these be checked we shall all of us—alike those who are distant and those who are near—find ourselves drifting toward an abyss at the foot of which lies ruin.

With affectionate greeting and warmest regard, I am, my dear Misciattelli,

Always sincerely and gratefully yours,

Nicholas Murray Butler

Misciattelli's answer, again written in Italian, came promptly in this letter:

[Translation]

Rome, Piazza Venezia, 5  
September 21, 1935

Dear President,

I thank you for your cordial letter of the 2nd of September which I have read with the greatest interest. I shall try in this

letter to clarify more fully the profound reasons of our conflict with Abyssinia.

At the base of this conflict there is not only a vital necessity of expansion for Italy, but a superior problem of civilization, which public opinion in foreign countries has not been able as yet to realize perfectly because it does not become apparent through the British press. Italy has presented at Geneva a Memorial illustrated with photographic documents which I am taking the liberty of sending to you because they constitute the most evident proof that the kingdom of the Negus rests upon a monstrous barbarism. The objective examination of this Memorial and of the accompanying documents should have persuaded the English government and the Committee of Five to expel Abyssinia from the League of Nations for unworthiness under the terms of the League Pact after the unavailing proof of patience offered to the Negus by the Duce. Precisely on account of the keen desire not to provoke armed conflicts, Mussolini signed on the 2nd of August, 1928, a treaty of friendship with Abyssinia with the confidence—subsequently completely destroyed—that this nation would succeed in preventing encroachments upon our frontier and give to Italy the means of raising it to a higher level of civilization, to favor its just aspirations economically and in the colonization of waste lands, in particular the exploitation of its mineral resources, respecting its integrity. This treaty of friendship, as the Memorial clearly shows, has been in the interval openly violated by the Negus; and you will recognize, Mr. President, that a treaty is valid until one of the contracting parties rejects it, considering it a piece of paper. This is the case of Abyssinia in relation to Italy from 1828 [1928?] until today. I do not know as yet the exact text of the Geneva reply of the Committee of Five, but from the indiscretions of the British press and from the threatening language to Italy, as well as by the great demonstration of the English naval forces in the Mediterranean, it may be assumed that the reasons and the proper rights of my country have failed to receive recognition.

As regards the Pact of Paris, signed by France, England, and Italy, it is proper to observe that England claims to consider it active only as regards the eventual conflicts which might arise

in Europe or between civilized nations, because in signing the Pact, she reserved to herself the armed defense of her extra-European interests; and this is so true that she is using this right of hers even today by exterminating poor Afghan tribes with her airplanes.

In your letter you ask me the reason for the failure of the project suggested to the Duce, that Italy should acquire from Portugal the West African Colony. After having made inquiry in reliable sources, I am in a position to tell you that this project encountered the decisive opposition of the English government, which in words recognizes the just aspirations of Italy and then in deeds bars the way.

The political moment is indubitably grave, but it should be a source of comfort and hope to see that even in England men of high authority are showing themselves opposed to those sanctions against Italy which would necessarily provoke a European catastrophe. To me it seems absurd, and I refuse to believe, that England, in order to defend *à outrance* a State of highly barbaric civilization like Abyssinia, will kindle a vast conflagration which would probably mean the end of western civilization.

Receive, Mr. President, my most devoted and cordial greetings.

Piero Misciattelli

To this, my answer, which closed the correspondence for the time being, was as follows:

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 West 117th Street, New York City

October 4, 1935

The Marchese Misciattelli,  
Palazzo Bonaparte,  
Piazza Venezia, 5,  
Rome, 101, Italy

My dear Marchese:

Your letter of September 21 has been received and read with close attention. It comes at a time when we are all disturbed and distressed by the actual outbreak of armed hostilities in Abyssinia.

In this country we all realize Italy's need for expansion, but we can not understand why, in view of all that has been said and done during the past twenty years, that expansion should be undertaken by the use of armed force. The cost of that attempt in money and in lives will be colossal and in any event the result must be gravely disappointing. We are told by those who know well the geography and geology of Abyssinia that there is no possibility of finding there any considerable amount of the new economic resources which Italy needs and that the climate is such that the mortality of any Italian settlers in that country would be excessive. We had earnestly hoped that the use of military force, with all which that may entail, would have been avoided and that by a policy of discussion and consultation the economic needs of Italy could have been met.

As a matter of fact, there can be no analogy between conditions at the moment and those which existed from one to three centuries ago when various European nations were expanding and acquiring colonies in various parts of the earth. That era had closed, we hoped, forever. There was to take its place a policy of international consultation and of international action in a broad, sympathetic and kindly spirit with the aim of making mankind happier, more prosperous and more peaceful than ever before.

Surely no act which could be done by Ethiopians on the borders of their own land can justify in this twentieth century what would have been natural enough and indeed inevitable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

If armed hostilities continue, it will surely be Italy that will have to meet their cost, not only in vast amounts of money but in tens of thousands of precious human lives. That which might be gained at so great a cost, even if the results should be favorable to Italy, will be quite negligible in value.

It is this condition which confronts all of us who are warm friends and admirers of Italy and who wish only the prosperity and happiness of the Italian people.

I enclose the leading editorial from *The New York Times* of this morning, which I beg you to read carefully because it represents and reflects the well considered opinion of our people, who are, I repeat, warm admirers of Italy and her civiliza-

tion and who would go far in any movement to increase the respect and esteem in which Italy and her civilization and historic achievements are held throughout the world. What we simply do not understand is why force is resorted to at a time when force is not only unnecessary but can accomplish absolutely nothing.

If there be domestic conditions in Italy of which we are not aware, that perhaps might offer some explanation of present public policies, but we have had every reason to believe that Italy was eagerly supporting her present government, developing her agriculture, her industry and her electric power in unprecedented fashion, draining her long-time marsh lands and greatly improving Rome and other historic cities. In addition, the contemporary contributions to art and letters are certainly most striking. Why then, could not the Duce refrain from the use of military force and from those really violent military exhortations in which he has so frequently indulged during the past eighteen months? It is happenings like these which frighten lovers of Italy and give them pause.

With warmest regards and every greeting to the Marchesa and yourself, I am, as ever,

Sincerely yours,  
Nicholas Murray Butler

Several months later, Misciattelli wrote the following letter, which is the last important communication that I was ever to receive from him, since he died, with startling suddenness, on February 11, 1937:

[Translation]

Rome

June 19, 1936

Dear President:

It was not possible for me, to my great regret, to come to London for the meeting of the Committee of the European Centre of the Carnegie Endowment. I shall read with great interest the report of the discussions and especially your address on the very important subject of reform of the League of Nations.

I think it my duty, as a member of our Committee to send you briefly, in writing, what I should have said at the above-mentioned meeting.

As an Italian I must greatly rejoice that the British Government has paid in the Chamber of Commons through the mouth of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden, a tribute to political reality by recognizing the error committed by Great Britain in proposing the disastrous sanctionist action against Italy in the Society of Nations. You know that the penetration of Italian civilization, in a barbarous country like Abyssinia, represents a vital necessity of economic and demographic colonizing expansion for our nation, which is so poor in raw materials and which has been suppressed in restricted territory since the Treaty of Versailles, but it is above all a victory for civilization in the Black Continent, full of fruitful promise for the Ethiopian population subjected for centuries to a feudal and slave-dealing régime.

As I have told you and written to you many times, no man loves peace more than Mussolini. He has repeated recently, since the Italian victory, that a war in Europe would be the catastrophe of Europe. In the African enterprise he has never thought of offending British interests, nor French, nor those of any other civilized nation. With his calm and vigilant firmness, supported by the heroic sacrifice of the Italian people, he has been able to avoid, in an atmosphere of acute political tension caused by the sanctions and by the presence of the "Home Fleet" in the Mediterranean, any small incident which might have been a spark to light a frightful war.

In the well known declarations given to the *Daily Telegraph*, Mussolini has explicitly reasserted his desire to collaborate in the great work of the building of peace in Europe and in the world, and he has not denied that the League of Nations can give useful service in this work, provided it is capable of being reformed.

It seems to me that up to a certain point the manner of arriving at this reform is facilitated by the experience of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict in the face of the League of Nations, since it has shown the uselessness of the unfortunate experiment of sanctions.

Last October the League, on the suggestion of the British

government, refused to examine, in a spirit of justice, the reasons set forth by the Italian government in its famous "Memorandum" on the Ethiopian question. It preferred to adhere to the letter rather than the spirit of the Pact. It would have been obvious and altogether easy to recognize the bad case of the slave-dealing Negus and the rights of Italy. If this had occurred, the difference could have been settled and a colonial war avoided, but today it is useless to dig up a past which is historically buried. Today it is necessary to keep in view the reality, without falling into dangerous socialistic ideology of the Asiatic-Moscowite stamp.

Nevertheless, we all see the pitiful spectacle that is offered in France, in Spain and in Belgium by the socialistic and pro-Bolshevik governments feeding the population doctrines of corruption which tend to favor, in the respective States, social disorder. These are evidently not comforting elements to reorganize and stabilize peace in Europe, and I think that England and also the United States of America have understood that. We must, nevertheless, hope that a strong and intelligent nation like France will succeed in returning to sanity, avoiding further internal upheavals which would greatly weaken it in the face of a Germany constantly more and more conscious of its strength and of its right to live.

I think that Hitler, like Mussolini, aims at the pacific reconstruction of Europe in perfectly good faith. He also understands what a catastrophe a European and probably world war would be; but a people like the Germans, with sixty million men, can not submit forever to the conditions of life created by the absurd Treaty of Versailles.

I think that this problem will be brought forward shortly on the political tapis by Germany. The only hope that remains to us of seeing peace stabilized in the world, based on justice, depends on the manner and especially on the spirit in which the great plutocratic nations shall receive the German demands. But will the League of Nations understand this? I think it will, if it succeeds in clearing away the clouds of false idealism, but this is not sufficient. It is necessary that the institution be reformed rapidly, and I do not see any other reform than the setting-up in it of a directory of the great powers which, by harmonizing

their economic and national interests, can impose the order of justice upon the small nations. Until recently, England and France have alone imposed their own will on the League. In the future, if they wish to save the League from certain death, it will be necessary that Italy and Germany be joined to them to harmonize the conflicting interests and organize peace.

An old Italian proverb says: "*Quando molti galli si mettono a cantare, non fa mai giorno.*" This is a truth which can be applied to the League of Nations. It is rational, in substance, to return to the direction suggested by Mussolini in the "Four-Power-Pact," which the Utopians of socialistic ideals opposed with the pitiful result which we all see now. True peace is built within all countries, as well as between nations: social peace and political peace. The labor demands which M. Blum is trying to bring about now in France in the midst of strikes and Bolshevik agitators, the Duce has carried out for several years in Italy without strikes and without lockouts. He has been able, through persuasion and discipline, to carry out all the requests of the laboring classes, corresponding to the necessity of life, that is justice, but which were formerly fiercely opposed, even in Italy, by the blind and destructive egoism of the employer classes. If we Italians have, for fourteen years, offered to the world a marvellous example of social peace, of political force, we owe it solely to the genius of the Duce. But to obtain these results, it is necessary to create among the lower classes and in the upper classes a spirit of sacrifice, of mutual understanding aiming at the true good of the nation, not of separate individuals: a new mysticism, without which it degenerates into division and ruin.

I do not believe that Italy alone possesses this animating and renewing virtue. I have travelled much and I know other nations well. And I believe that it is possible to re-establish in them the good latent powers and oppose the apostles of disorder and class hatred. And is this not exactly the task which, in this grave hour, the Carnegie Endowment ought to undertake? You, my dear President, being not only the President of the Endowment and of Columbia University, but a personal friend of President Roosevelt, so interested in all that seems true to me, can create a vast movement of thought and action in the United States of America. The example of wisdom presented by the British

government and by Mr. Eden himself, with perfect honesty, in the memorandum submitted on the 18th of June to the House of Commons seems to me of good augury for the reconstruction of European peace. And let us hope that the men of good will will triumph.

Receive, dear President, my cordial greetings.

Piero Misciattelli

During those years of close contact with Mussolini and with the aims of Italian policy, it became more and more impressed upon me that Mussolini kept before him the conception of restoring his country in the twentieth century to a position of influence comparable to that which ancient Rome occupied when at the height of its power. He reflected upon the fact that Italy had so little control, in comparison with Great Britain, of the Mediterranean, of Egypt and of the Suez Canal. He felt that England, like Portugal, should be satisfied with its position on the Atlantic and its influence toward the west, and that Italy should retake Savoie, Corsica, Malta and the control of the eastern Mediterranean. All this of course was thinking in terms of centuries long past. The twentieth century does not require or expect political domination over territory and people with which trade and commerce are carried on. We have gotten beyond that. Friendly relations, trade agreements and world organization, rather than the use of force, whether economic or military, are the principles which should govern international relations to-day. Through the acceptance of these principles, Italy could make far more rapid and far more specific progress toward prosperity and growing influence in the world than by turning back to policies of force. Italian tradition, Italian cultivation, Italian achievement in letters, in architecture, in music and in the fine arts, are so commanding that the place of Italy in the modern world is

wholly secure if only it will turn to forward-facing and constructive policies of progress in the spirit of today and tomorrow rather than in that of centuries long gone by.

#### VATICAN LIBRARY

No more important or more interesting work in the field of international intellectual co-operation has been undertaken by me than that done in connection with the Vatican Library. This remarkable collection of manuscripts, incunabula and printed books had not been available for the general use of scholars through lack of means with which to arrange and classify it in thoroughly modern fashion, as well as to give it a physical background of the most effective and appropriate kind. The way in which this work came to the attention of the Carnegie Endowment illustrates once more from what little acorns great oaks may grow.

The late General William Barclay Parsons, my intimate friend for many years, long a trustee of Columbia University and chairman of those trustees for the fifteen years preceding his death, had been at work for a long time on his recently published volume entitled *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*.<sup>1</sup> As his studies progressed, General Parsons began to search the archives of the great libraries of the world for material. After spending much time at the British Museum in London, he then passed to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. When he had completed his studies in those two great libraries General Parsons went to the Vatican Library in Rome. There he found, to his great surprise, that what was certainly a rich mine of material was almost inaccessible to him through lack of a catalogue and of modern library classi-

<sup>1</sup>Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1939, 661 pp.

fication and arrangement. Indeed, so difficult was it to carry on research in the Vatican Library at that time that relatively few scholars went to it from different parts of the world despite the treasures which it was known to contain.

In 1925 General Parsons brought these facts to my attention and asked me to consider whether the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace might not be able to make a real contribution to international co-operation and international understanding, were it to take part in the modernization of the Vatican Library in order greatly to increase its usefulness. This suggestion seemed to me so fruitful that I at once asked Doctor Henry S. Pritchett, a fellow trustee of the Endowment, who was about to make a trip to the eastern Mediterranean, whether he would not go to Rome and look into the possibility of our acting upon the suggestion which General Parsons had made. Doctor Pritchett did this and received a most gracious reception at the Vatican. His Holiness Pope Pius XI received him in audience, and the library officials were much interested and very co-operative when the plan which General Parsons had in mind was made known. As a result, the work of thoroughly modernizing the collections contained in the Vatican Library, so that they might be used readily and constantly by scholars and intellectual workers from all parts of the world, was begun and is still in progress. The full details of this undertaking are set out in my Annual Reports as Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for the several years since 1928.

The accomplished Librarian of the University of Michigan, Doctor William Warner Bishop, was invited to take general charge of the Endowment's work, and this he did

in close co-operation with the Vatican Library officials and with a group of American librarians whom he took with him to Rome. Monsignor Mercati and Monsignor Tisserant, both of whom have since been made Cardinals, were put in direct charge of the Vatican Library, succeeding Cardinal Gasquet who died in 1929. They came to the United States and inspected our most important university and public libraries, with a view to seeing how far the experience of those institutions could be useful in their work at Rome. At the Vatican the collection of printed books is large, old and valuable; but it cannot be compared with the manuscripts, the total of which, when this work was undertaken, was estimated at 51,300, to which must be added the 10,000 and more registers and packets from the Barberini archives. A most extraordinary and intricate amount of work had to be undertaken, but it was both undertaken and accomplished. A visitor to the Vatican Library of today, if able to compare it with the Vatican Library of twelve years ago, would not think it the same collection. International co-operation was sought throughout this undertaking, and scholars from France, Germany, Spain, Great Britain and other lands assisted in the work. The result is that today the Vatican Library is equipped with steel bookstacks of American manufacture of the same type as those used in the Library of Congress, with stack elevators and booklifts and with every provision for the necessary machinery to operate by electric power. The climate of Rome made it necessary to install a special type of ventilated apparatus both to prevent excessive humidity and to guard the books and manuscripts against undue dryness.

The Vatican itself has made very large appropriations for the improvement of the library. The American steel stacks that were installed were six stories in height and

capable of holding 600,000 volumes. Unfortunately, as a result of the collapse of the roof of the Vatican while the work was going on and the consequent damage to the reading rooms, these have had to be entirely redesigned and refurnished. They are, however, much more useful and attractive than was previously the case. The Vatican has increased the regular library staff by the addition of seven men, five of whom were trained in the United States under the care of the Carnegie Endowment.

The interest of Pope Pius XI in this undertaking was intimate and unfailing. He himself had been a librarian earlier in life, having been director of the Ambrosian Library at Milan from 1907 and from 1914 Prefect of the Vatican Library. This experience added to his interest and made him fully appreciative of all that was done. The consequence is that after some twelve years of scholarly work, this unique collection of source material in the fields of literature and history is now not only available for easy and comfortable use, but is being used day by day by scores, indeed by hundreds, of scholars coming from every civilized land.

This work has awakened world-wide interest in the Vatican Library and has had a distinct influence on Catholic libraries in all parts of the world, as well as upon the Italian libraries themselves. Pope Pius XI addressed a letter to the bishops throughout the world urging them to give attention to the modernization and development of the libraries in institutions under their care. In the United States the influence of this appeal was immediate and marked. The Catholic University of America has established an excellent library school and a very considerable number of those who belong to various religious orders have carried on professional studies at the Catholic University Library School and elsewhere. Under the direc-

tion of Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, that institution co-operated generously and heartily throughout all the years of this highly important undertaking.

The link which has been forged between the Vatican and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is most welcome and most helpful.

#### BUDAPEST, VIENNA AND PRAGUE, 1931

It never rains but it pours is a familiar adage. No sooner had it become known that I was to address the German Reichstag than formal invitations reached me from Budapest, from Vienna and from Prague to visit those cities and address the parliaments of their respective countries. This proved to be impossible for the year 1930, since it had already been arranged that following my visit to Berlin I was to go to London to deliver the Cobden lecture and then return to the United States. So it was that these three visits were postponed until 1931, and in due time detailed arrangements were made for each of them.

#### BUDAPEST

The visit to Budapest had been first suggested by my long-time friend, Count Apponyi, the veteran and most distinguished Hungarian statesman, himself a powerful personal force in the public life of Europe. My colleague at Columbia University, Professor Francis Déak, a Hungarian born, took active and helpful part in working out the detailed program of my visit to Hungary. The Hungarian Minister at Washington, Count Széchényi, whose wife was the daughter of the late Cornelius Vanderbilt who served for a number of years as a trustee of Columbia University, was greatly interested in the visit and spared no effort to see that all particulars were carefully arranged for the comfort of my wife, my daughter and

myself. Indeed, Count and Countess Széchényi put at our disposal an apartment in their own beautiful home in Budapest, where we enjoyed every luxury during the days and nights there which were crowded with interesting happenings.

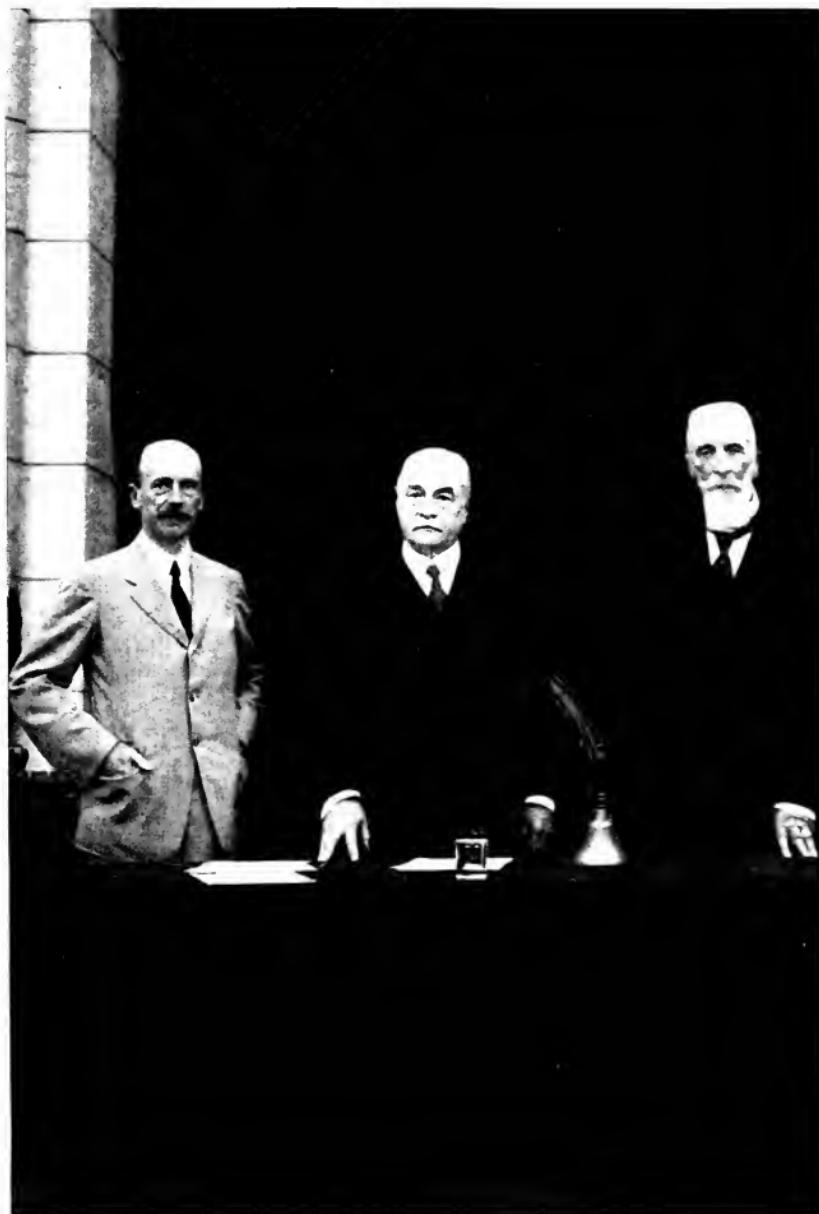
We left Paris by the Orient Express on the evening of June 13, and reached Budapest some twenty-four hours later. We were met at the station by Mr. John Pelényi, now Hungarian Minister at Washington, who was then representative of Hungary at the League of Nations. He and Madame Pelényi undertook most graciously the task of guiding us through our crowded program and of making everything as comfortable and as agreeable for us as could possibly be.

My address before the Hungarian Parliament was set for the afternoon of June 16, but, much to Count Apponyi's disappointment, the formal session of that Parliament had ended a few days earlier than he had expected. However, he was quite equal to the occasion and with the active help of Count Bethlen, then head of the government, he assembled the members of the Parliament in informal session and brought together a most distinguished company to hear the address which I was to make. My topic was "The Search for Security"<sup>1</sup> and in interpretation of it I offered an argument for national and international security through new constructive policies which would turn their backs upon economic nationalism and the constant threat of force. In connection with this address there was an amusing incident. On one of Count Széchényi's trips to New York to discuss the details of my visit to Budapest, I asked him whether, since I had no knowledge of the Magyar language, I should speak to

<sup>1</sup>*Looking Forward* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 155-161.

the Hungarian Parliament in French. "French, French," said Count Széchényi contemplatively, "no, I do not think I should use French if I were you." "Then," I said, "I must use German, for I have no adequate knowledge of any other language." "German, German," said Count Széchényi, "no, I do not think I should use German." And then, after hesitating a moment, he said, "Would it embarrass you to use English?" I can think of no better illustration of the delicate political situation which then prevailed in the Danubian countries than that anecdote offers.

I had long and intimate conversations with Count Bethlen and gained a very clear insight into the character of the problems which faced his government and his people. The lines which had been drawn between Hungary and Czechoslovakia on the north and between Rumania and Hungary on the south in the Treaty of Saint-Germain were a severe punishment to the Hungarians. Personal and geographic associations of centuries were broken up, and wholly unexpected problems of daily life and work were forced upon a considerable portion of the population. Count Bethlen called my attention, in particular, to the disastrous results which followed upon the new boundary line as fixed between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. He said that it had been so poorly done that nearly 700,000 Hungarians were left in Czechoslovakia and some 400,000 Czechoslovaks were left in Hungary. He indicated on a map how this line might be changed in a way that would return practically all of the Czechoslovaks to their own country, as well as some two-thirds of the Hungarians to their country. "You are going up to Prague," he said, "take this map and show it to President Masaryk. It may very well make appeal to him in a way that would enable us to straighten this matter



The Author about to address the members of the Hungarian Parliament and guests, June 16, 1931. *Left to right:* Count Bethlen, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Author; and Count Apponyi, presiding



out in the near future without any disturbance whatsoever." Some two weeks later I did just this, and President Masaryk took the greatest interest in Count Bethlen's suggestion. After contemplating the map for a time, he said: "If Count Bethlen and I could settle this matter ourselves, I have no doubt that we could do it quickly and satisfactorily; but if I were to bring this matter up in our Parliament, there would be an uproar which might even be accompanied by threats of another war." Once again, the force of psychology playing upon matters of geography and history was well illustrated.

While we were at Budapest the newspapers had much to say of the Archduke Otto, who was just then being graduated from the University of Louvain. One evening as we were sitting together after dinner I said to Count Bethlen in quite casual fashion: "I see that there is a great deal being printed in the newspapers about the Archduke Otto just now. What chance is there of his being called to the throne of Hungary?" Count Bethlen hesitated a moment and then very quietly replied: "I do not think this a good time for boy kings, do you?" My question was answered.

In addition to these most interesting and indeed absorbing visits with the leading personalities in the government of Hungary, there was a constant succession of academic and social engagements of the greatest interest. We drove out one day to the country residence of Regent Horthy, some considerable distance from Budapest, and greatly enjoyed our visit to the Regent and his charming wife. Hungary is, course, a monarchy—whether there be a monarch or not—and therefore its titular head is regent rather than president or any other of our modern titles. Regent Horthy gave me a most gracious reception in Budapest and was good enough to confer a decora-

tion. That same evening we were the guests at a dinner given for us by the Prime Minister. On the following day there was a reception by the Rector and Faculty of the University of Budapest, at which time an honorary degree was conferred, and in the evening a dinner by Count Julius Karolyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs. On the days following there was a luncheon by Count Kuno Klebelsberg, Minister of Education, followed by a reception at the Royal Academy of Sciences and a meeting *in camerâ* with representatives of the University of Szeged at which time an honorary degree was conferred.

Few European statesmen impressed me more deeply during this visit than did Count Teleki. Having voluntarily withdrawn from high public office, he was then devoting himself to academic service at the University of Budapest. He was, nevertheless, in constant consultation with the highest officers of the Hungarian government, who continually sought his advice and counsel. He is now Prime Minister of Hungary at what is perhaps the most difficult hour in that country's history. His scholarship, his calm judgment and his vision, together with his delightful personality, unite to make him a statesman of great charm as well as of power.

Short as this visit was, measured in days and hours, it was long in its unequalled opportunities for becoming acquainted with the Hungarian people and the problems which faced them. Every hour was abundant in interest and in charm, and when we left for Vienna it was with the feeling that an exceptional amount of information had been gained relative to the people in the Danubian states.

#### VIENNA

At Vienna our experience was quite similar. When our train reached the boundary of Austria, we were taken

from the oversight of Mr. and Mrs. Pelényi and put in a private car set aside for us by the Austrian government, for the rest of the journey to Vienna. There again, hospitality was unbounded and there was hardly an hour by day or by night which was not filled with something of interest and importance. Of course, the chief incident of this visit was the address to the Austrian Parliament on the evening of June 22. For this address I took as my topic "Die Republikanische Staatsform."<sup>1</sup> In beginning this address I quoted the opening sentences of the Constitution which the Republic of Austria had adopted on October 1, 1920:

I. Oesterreich ist eine demokratische Republik. Ihr Recht geht vom Volk aus.

II. (1) Oesterreich ist ein Bundesstaat.

Article I. Austria is a democratic Republic. The will of the people is the foundation of its laws.

Article II. (1) Austria is a Federal State.

My purpose was to interpret the republican form of government largely in the light of our experience in the United States, and to indicate in what ways it would appear that the history of political organization and development in America might now be useful to the people of Austria and to those of other nations who were about to embark upon the same political experiment. It is grim satire that, not more than three years after I had delivered this address, when the Constitution of Austria was revised and amended, these two sentences were struck out. This happening itself is one more clear evidence of the fact that the Teutonic peoples have still much to learn—either by their own experience or from the study

<sup>1</sup>*Looking Forward* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 373-393. English translation, pp. 135-152.

of what has happened during the past few hundred years in France, in Great Britain and in the United States—before they can establish and maintain a stable government, republican in form and democratic in foundation.

As early as November, 1930, the Rector of the University of Vienna had invited me to be the guest of that institution and to meet and address the academic body. This I was very glad to do and had much pleasure in doing.

After I had been two or three days in Vienna, the editor of the really admirable newspaper, *Die Neue Freie Presse*, came to see me with the suggestion that I should not confine my contacts entirely to the members of the Austrian government, but should be sure to see something of the Socialist leaders and their work in the improvement of Vienna itself. I promptly acted upon this suggestion and it was quickly arranged that I should be taken to call upon the Burgomaster of Vienna, Karl Seitz, who was making for himself a notable reputation in the field of municipal administration. I was much struck by the personality of Herr Seitz and found my talk with him intensely interesting. After a half-hour of conversation he told me that he had arranged to have me taken by a representative of the municipal government to see with my own eyes some of the improvements which had been effected in Vienna since the end of the Great War.

Several hours were spent in careful inspection of the newly built apartment houses for the working classes, of the public-school system and of the new municipal hospital service, particularly for children. What had been done under the administration of Burgomaster Seitz impressed me greatly. Living conditions in Vienna, as I had known them in years past, were for a large portion of the population quite shocking in their discomfort and their

inadequacy. All this sort of thing had disappeared or was disappearing, and in its place had been erected or were being erected really attractive apartment buildings for persons of small means. One thing which struck me particularly was that these buildings were equipped with a general laundry which could be used by any of the families resident in them at an insignificant loss of time or effort. At suitable intervals there were also small pharmacies where ordinary medicines and medical supplies could be quickly secured.

When the government of Austria fell, Burgomaster Seitz was ejected from office and I fear did not have a happy time thereafter. His fate to the contrary notwithstanding, he was, when I had the pleasure of knowing him, doing a really distinguished service for the city of Vienna and its people.

While we were having luncheon one day with President Miklas at his home in Belvedere Palace, I asked the President whether it would be agreeable and convenient if after luncheon I were to take my wife and daughter to see the room in the Palace where the Treaty of Vienna was negotiated and signed in 1815. The President expressed some wonder that I should wish to see that room, but I told him there was a particular reason for my so doing. After luncheon the President and Vice-Chancellor Schober took us to the room in another part of the Palace, and I pointed out that the room, though small, had five doors. Two of these were obviously part of the original structure of the building, but the other three could not be described as in any sense necessary. Then I told the story of how they came to be put in place. When the Congress of Vienna was to be held, Metternich was very solicitous not to allow any artificial questions of precedence or dignity to arise. Therefore, by adding three

doors to the room, he provided five separate entrances so that Castlereagh from Great Britain, Talleyrand from France, Hardenberg from Prussia and Nesselrode from Russia, together with Metternich himself, might enter the room at one and the same moment and thereby avoid raising any question of precedence. President Miklas and Vice-Chancellor Schober were enormously interested in this story, which they had never heard. It was told to me on the occasion of a previous visit to Vienna more than forty years earlier.

Another most important piece of information I gained from Vice-Chancellor Schober. He said he wanted me to know what had happened to his plan for a German-Austrian economic Anschluss which had been discussed in the press. He told me that following the Treaties of Versailles, of The Trianon and of Saint-Germain, Austria had been reduced to an agricultural state with much splendid scenery. He said that they might hope to use their scenery as did Switzerland and attract large numbers of visitors at different seasons of the year, but from the stand-point of economic production they must make an arrangement with Germany. He had, therefore, asked Doctor Curtius, then head of the German foreign office, to come to Vienna on March 4 and discuss the possibility of an Anschluss based upon exchange of German industrial products for Austrian agricultural products and vice versa. Doctor Curtius had been in Vienna on March 4, 5 and 6, and he had agreed with Vice-Chancellor Schober upon the outlines and principles of such an Anschluss. The details were left to be worked out by the experts in the two foreign offices. Before Doctor Curtius left to return to Berlin, Vice-Chancellor Schober impressed upon him the fact that nothing must be said of this Anschluss until, in the following May, they met the representatives of Great

Britain, of France and of Italy at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva. Doctor Curtius returned to Berlin with this understanding. No sooner had he communicated to his staff what arrangements he had made with Vice-Chancellor Schober than the staff flew into a rage and insisted that Germany was an independent nation and would not keep silent about anything which it had done or intended to do. Therefore, a few days later, and despite the arrangement which Doctor Curtius and the Vice-Chancellor had together made, the general fact of the Anschluss and its underlying principles were given to the public from Berlin. At once Arthur Henderson in London, Briand in Paris and Grandi in Rome served notice that the Anschluss would not be permitted. Sixty days later when Curtius and Schober met these same gentlemen at Geneva, and Schober explained to them what he had intended to do by way of getting their approval of the Anschluss before it was publicly announced, they all three told him that had this course been followed, the Anschluss would have been approved by them.

I listened with absorbed interest to this story by Vice-Chancellor Schober. Once again, human vanity and human stubbornness were insisting upon preventing human prosperity and human happiness.

#### PRAGUE

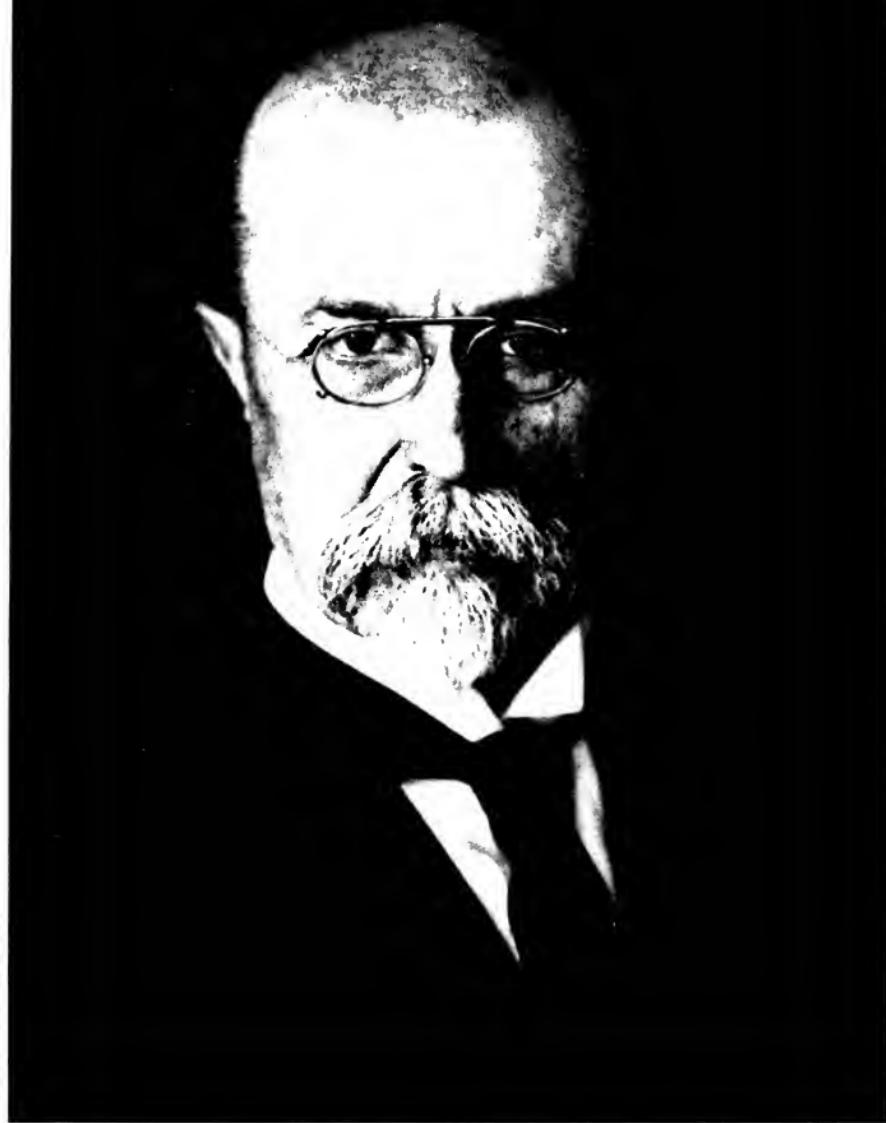
After Vienna came the fascinatingly interesting visit to Prague. It was really a joy to see the beautiful country through which the railway ran, and both to see and to feel the charm of the city of Prague itself. President Masaryk had his apartment in the really amazing Hradčany or Castle of Prague, which is one of the most

remarkable buildings in Europe. It had long been the family residence of the kings of Bohemia and part of it goes back to the tenth century. It contains no fewer than 711 apartments and seems much more like a village or a town than a castle. Indeed, so huge is it that there is ample room for the fine Cathedral of St. Vitus in its inner court. To this great castle we went as guests of President Masaryk, whose charm of personality and gracious hospitality delighted us. Doctor Beneš, who was then Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, came often to the castle during our stay and we three had hour after hour of intimate and most inspiring conversation on the national and international problems in which we were all so profoundly interested.

The invitation which had been extended to me to address the national Parliament, and which I had accepted, came to naught for the reason that the Parliament had adjourned before we were able to reach Prague. Nevertheless, on the initiative of President Masaryk and Doctor Beneš, one form of entertainment after another was arranged, so that we saw nearly all of the intellectual and political leaders of Czechoslovakia who were in and about Prague at that time.

There was a visit to the famous library of Strahov, and on June 25, I addressed the ancient Charles University, taking as my topic "The University and the International Mind."<sup>1</sup> My purpose was to indicate and to emphasize the leadership which it was the duty and the opportunity of the university to offer in bringing about increased international understanding and increased international co-operation. The substance of my argument is contained in these paragraphs:

<sup>1</sup>*Looking Forward* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 287-290.



To the President of  
Columbia University  
Mr. N. M. Butler

T. G. Masaryk  
2/1/28.

THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK, 1850-1937  
President of Czechoslovakia, 1918-1935



There is no need to establish a super-state. There is no need to appeal to some hitherto undeveloped form of force. All that is needed is intellectual insight and moral power to act as national citizens of an international community. Given that, the future is secure. Without that, there can be no future of which one dare trust himself to speak.

To represent, to inspire and to guide this great movement, is both the duty and the opportunity of the university. Knowledge knows no geographic limits and speaks no single language. Scientific truth, philosophic interpretation, are the same in Prague as in Tokyo or Calcutta or Buenos Aires or New York or London or Paris or Berlin. The scholar and the man of science are welcome under any flag, in any clime or speaking any language. Their authority is equally acknowledged wherever men are eager to hear and to understand what is new and better to comprehend what is old and established. The twentieth century university fails of its mission if it does not seek and claim leadership in this new movement of international understanding, international co-operation and international responsibility for meeting the grave problems which face mankind. It possesses a freedom of thought and action which is denied to the politically organized state and which is quite impossible for the diverse and conflicting forms of religious belief. The university is the natural leader toward the new day and no matter in what country its home be found, no matter what language it habitually speaks, it must rise to the full height of its new opportunity and not only accept but claim responsibility for leading human effort into new fields of understanding and achievement and for inspiring humanity to new accomplishment. The university may not content itself with being only the expounder and defender of old and well-established truth; it must in justice to its history and its purpose claim its place of leadership in discovering and proclaiming truth which is new.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day I delivered an address before the American Institute of Prague, responding to a charming address of welcome given me by Doctor Beneš. The topic

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 289-290.

of my address was "When Philosophers Are Rulers, and Rulers Philosophers." My obvious object was to emphasize the ancient maxim of the philosophy of Plato that "When philosophers are rulers and rulers philosophers, then only will the people cease from ill."

On June 27, when our visit at Prague was drawing to a close, President Masaryk came alone for luncheon with my wife and daughter and myself in our apartment at his castle. He very graciously autographed the menu of the luncheon as a symbol of the intimacy of our visit.

These crowded weeks came to an end when we left Prague for Paris, London and New York. Briand was keenly interested in hearing in fullest detail of all that we had seen and heard. The same was true of Sir Austen Chamberlain in London, although he was no longer at the Foreign Office. The impression made upon Briand and Chamberlain by the report of these visits to Budapest, to Vienna and to Prague was the same as the impression made upon myself. We all felt that these three cities had become, and would for some time remain, the centers of active political thought and policy. The peoples of Hungary, of Austria and of Czechoslovakia were looking out upon what was for them a new kind of world and they were deeply concerned that their governments should, in response to their public opinion, accept and follow such constructive and liberal policies as would bring to them all permanent relief from the danger of war. There was no concealment of the difficulties involved. There were new boundaries to be made effective in thought and in policy as well as upon the map. There were new contacts of groups and races to be developed, if possible without friction or conflict. There was also hanging over these three peoples the shadow of a huge

and revolutionary Russia on the east and that of an uncertain and highly ambitious Germany on the west. What would the outcome be? The years that followed 1931 have given the answer.

#### TREATY OF VERSAILLES AT WASHINGTON, 1919

The incident which follows was known to but four persons—Senator Kellogg of Minnesota, Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, M. Jules Jusserand, French Ambassador at Washington, and myself. When I visited Jusserand at a Paris hospital shortly before his death, he and I compared notes on this incident. He told me that he had in his private papers a record identical with that which I myself had made.

On June 9, 1919, Senator Kellogg called me by telephone and urged that I come to Washington as soon as possible to confer with a group of Republican senators concerning the attitude which they should adopt toward the ratification of the Versailles Treaty. Although the Treaty itself had not yet formally reached Washington, its terms were pretty well known and were being everywhere discussed and criticized. I went to Washington on the afternoon of June 11, and was met at the station by Senator Kellogg and Senator Hale of Maine. We went at once to Senator Hale's house, where in due time the group of senators whom he had invited gathered for dinner. No record was kept of those who were present, as several years later I was unable to get such a list when I asked for it. Through conference with Senator Hale and with Senator McNary of Oregon, as well as with former Senators Edge and Freylinghuysen of New Jersey, I have tried to reconstruct the list. In addition to the host and Senator Kellogg of Minnesota, there were present Senator

McNary of Oregon, Senator Capper of Kansas, former Senators Kenyon and Cummins of Iowa, former Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin, former Senator Harding of Ohio, former Senator Spencer of Missouri and former Senator Keyes of New Hampshire. As soon as we were seated at the table, Senator Kellogg turned to me and asked me please to express freely and frankly my opinion as to what should be the attitude of the Republican senators toward the ratification of the Treaty. This was a very complimentary question, but it resulted in my getting very little dinner, for I at once started on what was doubtless a long and detailed explanation of the Treaty and its possible results for the American people and the peace of the world. The conversation of course was wholly informal and soon became very general, one senator after another asking searching questions and making illuminating comments. Toward the close of the dinner I had arrived at a statement of reservations which I thought should be included in the resolution of ratification when acted upon by the Senate. We discussed these reservations and because of comment and criticism from various senators my statement was altered in several particulars. When we left the table, I wrote out the text of these proposed reservations in Senator Hale's library and read them to the group of his guests. They all listened attentively and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, all expressed their willingness to support a resolution to ratify the Treaty provided these reservations were in form or in substance included in the act of ratification.

I returned to New York shortly after midnight. On the following day I sent to Senator Hale this letter, recording in more formal fashion the suggestions which I had made:

June 12, 1919.

Hon. Frederick Hale  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Senator Hale:

I greatly enjoyed our talk last night, and am under deep obligations to you and to Senator Kellogg for making it possible. I enclose several copies each of three papers, as follows:

1. The confidential memorandum, of which I gave you a copy, on the Powers of the President and Senate in Treaty-Making.

2. New copies of my proposed resolution of interpretation, adding to the two paragraphs which I read last night another relative to Article X, which is suggested by the discussion that we had.

3. A proposed addendum to the Knox resolutions, in case they are to be pressed for passage with the likelihood of adoption.

As was said last night by so many of those who participated in our conversation, the Republican party cannot afford to leave on the country an impression of mere negation in this matter of a League of Nations. It must bring forward and emphasize some positive policy or policies.

If I come across anything of particular interest in the West I shall be glad to drop you a line.

With best regards, I am

Faithfully yours,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

PROPOSED RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION OF THE VERSAILLES  
TREATY WITH RESERVATIONS

RESOLVED, that the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the Treaty with the following declaration, which declaration is hereby made part of the ratification of said Treaty:

1. That nothing contained in this covenant shall be deemed to limit the sovereignty of the United States in respect of its own domestic policies and acts, including, particularly, the right to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to regulate commerce with foreign nations; to establish a uniform rule of

naturalization; to regulate immigration; and to provide for the execution of the laws, the suppression of insurrection and the repelling of invasion.

2. That, in becoming a member of the League of Nations, the United States of America is moved by no interest or wish to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or internal administration of any foreign state, and by no existing or anticipated dangers in the affairs of the American Continents. It accedes to the wish of the European and Asiatic States that it shall join its power to theirs for the preservation of general peace, with the understanding that nothing contained in this covenant shall be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions, or to require the submission of its policy regarding such questions to the decision or recommendation of other powers or any organization thereof.

3. That if for the fulfilment of the obligation imposed by Article X of the covenant for the League of Nations, the Council of the League shall advise an act of war on the part of the United States, such act of war will only follow upon the exercise by the Congress of the United States of its constitutional power to declare war.

A few days afterward I left for California and the Bohemian Grove, feeling absolutely confident that the Treaty would be ratified with reservations and that the reconstruction of world order under American leadership would shortly thereafter begin. That this would lead to and make possible the quick correction of some of the outstanding mistakes of the Treaty of Versailles seemed to me quite obvious.

What happened, as the well known record shows, was something wholly different.

It seems that Senator Kellogg showed to Ambassador Jusserand a copy of my letter to Senator Hale containing my statement of the proposed reservations. Jusserand cabled them to the Foreign Office in Paris, which in turn

cabled them to the Foreign Office in London. At the end of a week or ten days, Jusserand received a cable from the Foreign Office in Paris stating that both the French and British Foreign Offices would be wholly satisfied were the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles with the proposed reservations. Jusserand, on his own motion and without consulting anybody, took this despatch to President Wilson and told him that he was able to say that, if the President would consent that his supporters in the Senate should accept the proposed reservations to the ratification of the Treaty, the President could be certain that enough Republican votes would be forthcoming to ensure the ratification. To Jusserand's horror, the President in stern voice replied: "Mr. Ambassador, I shall consent to nothing. The Senate must take its medicine."

What sort of a world is it in which we are living?

Twelve years later when crossing the Atlantic on the same ship with Senator Gilbert Hitchcock, whose term had expired, we talked time and time again of this and other episodes connected with the Treaty of Versailles at Washington. During one of these highly interesting talks, Hitchcock said: "Well, you know that I am the man who really defeated the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with the reservations that were proposed by the Republicans. I did this at what was not only the request, but virtually the command of President Wilson. It was the mistake of my life." That certainly is true.

President Wilson's responsibility for the defeat of ratification is also definitely asserted by Senator Lodge. These are his words:

The treaty would have been accepted by the Senate on the 19th of March, 1920, if it had not been for Mr. Wilson, and the defeat of the Treaty with the reservations was owing entirely

to his determination to have his own way and to dominate the situation.<sup>1</sup>

#### PACT OF PARIS FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR, 1927-28

In view of the many thousand words which have been written on this subject by so many different persons, it is plainly desirable to set down in the simplest possible form the actual history of this epoch-marking public document.

It had its origin in one of my many interesting, indeed memorable, conversations with M. Briand in his official apartment on the Quai d'Orsay. One day in June, 1926, I was congratulating Briand upon the steady and hopeful progress which was making in the cause of international peace. The minds of men seemed to be increasingly turned against war, and millions of human beings were looking with confidence toward a well ordered and peaceful world. The Pacts of Locarno had been signed, and Germany had joined the League of Nations. The friendship and co-operation of Briand and Stresemann were full of promise, and the outlook was distinctly brighter than it had been at any time for a generation. During our conversation, Briand suddenly said, "What could we do next?" In reply, I said: "My dear Briand, I have just been reading a book of which I had often heard, but never seen, from which I get my answer to your question. That book is a famous German military classic, which has been read by every German military officer for a hundred years. Its title is *Vom Kriege*, and its author was Karl von Clausewitz,<sup>2</sup> who became famous by reason of this book. While reading this work not long ago, I came upon an

<sup>1</sup>Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 214.

<sup>2</sup>Karl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege* (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1832-1834), 3 vols.

extraordinary chapter in its third volume, entitled 'War as an Instrument of Policy.' Why has not the time come for the civilized governments of the world formally to renounce war as an instrument of policy?" Briand said: "Would not that be wonderful if it were possible? I must read that book." Plainly from what followed, it was the reading of von Clausewitz's book by Briand which led to his celebrated statement made on April 6 following to the Paris representatives of the American press. Briand summoned these newspaper reporters to his office and asked them to give to the American people his appeal to join France in renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. How extraordinary this proposal was did not seem to be understood in the least by those to whom it was first addressed. It appeared in the American press in more or less formal fashion. The fact that it was a proposal made by the Foreign Minister of the French Government, plainly with the knowledge and approval of his associates in that government, was lost on the American people. It was Briand's hope that conferences between the French and American governments might quickly begin, so that the international pact which he had in mind might be signed on February 6, 1928, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the first treaty between France and the American government of that day.

If anything of this sort was to take place, it was plain that some movement to reach American public opinion must be begun at once. Therefore, I addressed the following letter to *The New York Times* of April 25, 1927:

To the Editor  
of *The New York Times*

Is it possible that the American people failed to hear the extraordinarily important message addressed to them through The Associated Press on April 6 by M. Briand, Minister of

Foreign Affairs in the Government of the French Republic? If not, what answer do they propose to make, and how long will they permit M. Briand to be kept waiting for that answer?

On April 6, 1927, the tenth anniversary of the formal entry of the United States into the World War, the Foreign Minister of France made a public proposal to the American people that is quite without parallel in our history. He formally and openly proposed a treaty between the United States and France that would definitely renounce war as a remedy for real or fancied wrongs as between France and the United States. This is a proposal to "outlaw" war that has every merit of practicability and practicality. For some reason which it is hard to understand, the importance of this notable declaration appears not to have been understood, much less appreciated, in the United States.

This epoch-marking offer was not made confidentially through ordinary diplomatic channels, but was contained in a public declaration and appeal to the people of the United States in a formal statement given to The Associated Press. "France is willing," says M. Briand in that statement, "publicly to engage itself with the United States to put war as between the two countries outside the pale of the law."

Any one who knows what is the practise of the French Government in respect to public Ministerial declarations of any kind will realize that this is no irresponsible or merely rhetorical appeal. M. Briand deals here not with general theories of world peace or with plans that can only be brought to pass in a distant future; he proposes a definite step to be taken at once, and he is still waiting for evidence of understanding on the part of the American people. No French Minister ever speaks in terms like these unless he has previously gained the full support of the Cabinet of which he is a member. It is French governmental practice not to make pronouncement on an important question of public policy until that pronouncement has been accepted by the Government of the day. When a French Minister makes a declaration of policy such as this, it is the Government of France which is speaking.

Why should not the American people hasten to use every means at their command to assure the Government of France that they have heard, that they do understand and that they will act in accordance with this progressive and constructive policy? The adhesion and co-operation of other powers would,



A M. Nicholas Murray Butler,  
un grand ami de la France,  
francier cordial  
Am. Briand

ARISTIDE BRIAND, 1862-1932

French Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1925-1932



of course, be secured later on, but the first thing is to act, and unless the American people are both physically and morally deaf, they will hear and will act quickly.

One who reads M. Briand's statement will see how clearly he sees the limitations under which the present negotiations for disarmament are being carried on. Those limitations arise chiefly from questions of procedure or method, and yet they reflect the great fundamental differences which every such negotiation must face. Disarmament, as M. Briand truly says, can only follow from the existence of a will to peace among the nations of the civilized world. Let France and America, he cries, demonstrate that, as between themselves at least, that will exists and will be finally and formally recorded in public act.

Here is a translation of the full text of the vitally important paragraph in M. Briand's statement of April 6:

"For those whose lives are devoted to securing this living reality of a policy of peace the United States and France already appear before the world as morally in full agreement. If there were need for those two great democracies to give high testimony to their desire for peace and to furnish to other peoples an example more solemn, still France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries. The renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is a conception already familiar to the signatories to the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaties of Locarno. Every engagement entered into in this spirit by the United States toward another nation such as France would contribute greatly in the eyes of the world to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which the international policy of peace is being erected. These two great friendly nations, equally devoted to the cause of peace, would furnish to the world the best illustration of the truth that the immediate end to be attained is not so much disarmament as the practical application of peace itself."

The fact that this statement is addressed to the American public instead of formally to the Government at Washington rather increases than lessens its importance. The method adopted

by M. Briand is fitting and proper in these democratic days to ascertain whether the will to peace really exists among the people of the United States and the people of France with reference to their mutual relations. The appeal was primarily not to governmental action, but first of all to those moral forces which, when roused, stir and compel governmental action.

This question is now squarely before the people of the United States. If those moral forces to which M. Briand makes appeal do not really exist among us, or, if existing, they cannot secure such direction of our policies as shall realize these ideals, then in international relations we shall have reached a stage which no American who understands his country's traditions and who realizes his country's ideals can look upon without shame and sorrow.

M. Briand's mind is thoroughly practical. He does not ask the Government of the United States to accept the Covenant of the League of Nations; he does not ask the Government of the United States to accept the principles of the Pact of Locarno; he does not ask the Government of the United States to adhere to the protocol for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. All that he asks is that the people of the United States shall take their own way to express the fact that in no case will they employ war to enforce their policies with reference to France.

We have been celebrating, and finally and justly celebrating, the tenth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War. Where and how could we find a more fitting tribute to the memory of those whose lives were given in that stupendous struggle than by making a solemn compact with that nation most severely stricken by that war, for the formal and definite renunciation of war itself as an instrument of policy?

M. Briand, speaking the voice and expressing the soul of France, has called out to us across the ocean. What answer is he to hear? What evidence is he to have that these noble words have been heard and understood?

Nicholas Murray Butler

Immediately the press began the vigorous discussion of Briand's proposal, and public opinion was greatly interested in it.

Shortly afterward, when at Washington to attend the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment, I went to the State Department to see Assistant Secretary Olds, who was himself a Trustee of the Endowment, to inquire what action the Department of State proposed to take in reference to Briand's appeal. To my astonishment, the answer of Mr. Olds was that they did not propose to do anything. I criticized this attitude most sharply, pointing out its impoliteness and its lack of vision. As a result, Olds asked me what I thought the State Department should do. My reply was that, since they had neglected to act promptly, the only suggestion I could now make was that they should themselves draft a treaty to carry out M. Briand's plan and offer it to him for discussion. To this, Olds replied: "What sort of a treaty? Why do you not yourself outline what you have in mind?" I replied that I would do so at once. Immediately on returning to New York, I summoned my colleagues and associates, Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain and Professor James T. Shotwell, both of whom knew much more about treaty-making than I did, and asked them to draft a treaty which I could take to the Department of State. This they did with great care. From that draft treaty the happenings which followed came in logical succession and have all been frequently recorded in the public press.

Negotiations proceeded, but Briand's sentiment regarding the signing of a bi-lateral pact on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first treaty between France and the United States was quite lost upon Secretary Kellogg. Briand's idea was that the treaty should be originally bi-lateral and that then on the following day the concurrence of the other governments of the world should be asked so that it would become a document of

world-wide effect. Kellogg insisted, however, upon its being made a general pact from the beginning, and Briand yielded his point of sentiment. The history of the ratification of the pact and its acceptance by sixty-three nations in all has been admirably told.<sup>1</sup>

It is not a little amusing to have this Pact of Paris so frequently referred to as the Kellogg Pact. When it was proposed, Kellogg was violently opposed to it and sent me word through my intimate friend and his, the late George Barton French, that he did not think I was such a fool—adding a profane adjective—as to favor an impossible treaty of that kind. My reply was, “We must let public opinion have something to say about that.”

I thereupon began a campaign to arouse public opinion in support of Briand’s proposal. My first addresses were delivered at Denver, Colorado, one before the Chamber of Commerce in that city and the second to a crowded audience in the vast auditorium in which Bryan was nominated for the presidency in 1908. This address was broadcast all over the western states. From Colorado I came east through Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri, speaking at various points, and then into Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. After one or two speeches in Pennsylvania and three or four in New England, I closed my campaign for what was to become the Pact of Paris at Augusta, Georgia. The result was that Kellogg became an enthusiastic supporter of the pact which to a large portion of the public quickly took his name. Kellogg frequently expressed to me the impropriety of this in view of all that had happened, but said that there was no help for it.

The treaty was ratified by the Senate on January 15,

<sup>1</sup>James T. Shotwell, *War as an Instrument of National Policy, and Its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), p. 310.

1929, by a vote of eighty-five to one, the dissenter being Senator John J. Blaine of Wisconsin. Immediately thereafter, the following messages were exchanged:

New York  
January 15, 1929

Honorable Frank B. Kellogg  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Accept my hearty congratulations upon the successful outcome of the long negotiations to secure and to ratify the Pact of Paris by practically unanimous vote. The Senate has now enabled American public opinion to restore our country to its place of leadership in the greatest movement of modern times to establish and to maintain international peace.

Nicholas Murray Butler

Washington  
January 16, 1929

Honorable Nicholas Murray Butler  
President, Columbia University  
New York  
My dear Dr. Butler:

I am deeply grateful to you for your congratulations. The treaty has been ratified without reservations or conditions. The President and I insisted on this and had they undertaken to put on any reservations or conditions of any kind the President would have withdrawn the treaty. Of course, the report of the Foreign Relations Committee has no legal effect whatever. It was not adopted by the Senate; it was not attached to the treaty, and the only objection to it is the humiliation forced on me.

The Senate insisted that they would not take my word for what the treaty meant, but I could not help that. I am only grateful that they have ratified the treaty.

I want to thank you for all the help you have given us, because without public opinion behind it any action was impossible.

Sincerely yours,

Frank B. Kellogg

New York  
January 16, 1929

President Briand  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Paris

Accept our hearty congratulations upon vote almost unanimous for ratification of Pact of Paris by Senate yesterday. American public opinion is likewise substantially unanimous in support of your wise and practical leadership in movement to establish and protect international peace.

Nicholas Murray Butler

Paris  
January 18, 1929

Monsieur Nicholas Murray Butler  
60 Morningside Drive  
New York

Je vous remercie de votre cordial message où je retrouve l'active sympathie que vous avez toujours manifestée pour la grande oeuvre poursuivie contre la guerre. Je me félicite avec vous de l'accueil chaleureux que ce mouvement rencontre dans nos deux pays.

Aristide Briand

Shortly afterward came the following message:

Berlin  
April 18, 1929

An  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
New York

Für das Lichtbild von der Ratifikation des Kellogg-Paktes im Weisen Hause zu Washington am 17. Januar, das Sie mir im Namen der Carnegie Stiftung übersandt haben, bitte ich, meinen verbindlichsten Dank entgegenzunehmen. Ich wäre Ihnen verbunden, wenn Sie auch dem Herrn Präsidenten Nicholas Murray Butler den Ausdruck meines Dankes übermitteln wollten.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

[Gustave] Stresemann

A few months later, when the formal act of signing the treaty had been completed, I sent this message by cable to M. Briand:

New York  
July 24, 1929

M. le Ministre Briand  
Quai d'Orsay  
Paris

Accept my sincere and affectionate congratulations on final ratification of Pact of Paris by entire world. This longest step forward ever taken by governments of organized men is due primarily to your vision, your courage and your unfailing and generous patience. You have built a monument more lasting than bronze. The next task is to teach people to think and governments to act in honest and frank accordance with its terms.

Nicholas Murray Butler

To this, M. Briand replied as follows:

Paris  
July 26, 1929

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler  
60 Morningside Drive  
New York

Je m'empresse de vous remercier de votre affectueuse et amicale pensée. La mise en vigueur du Pacte contre la Guerre, résultat d'une étroite collaboration Franco-Américaine, constitue un événement considérable de l'histoire de l'humanité et avec vous je veux y voir le début d'une ère nouvelle pour la paix du monde. Je pense à la joie que vous devez éprouver, vous qui avez toujours fait en ce sens avec vos amis une propagande si active et si efficace.

Aristide Briand

The cruel thing about the Pact of Paris was that no sooner had it been ratified by sixty-three governments than at least half of them began arming for war, under the pretence of arming for defense, at a rate that had

never been equalled in all history. The disastrous and humiliating result is written on the pages of time.

#### NEW POLICIES IN JAPAN

Unfortunately, it has never been possible for me to visit the Orient or Australia or Latin America. The time required for these journeys and the season of the year at which visits to these lands would be most agreeable were such that my academic duties and my work in Europe made it impossible to undertake any one of the necessary voyages. Nevertheless, my relations with all of them have been close and often intimate—with China and Japan, in particular, I have had many contacts which have brought me no inconsiderable information and understanding relative to conditions in the Orient. There has been a constant stream of students of the highest type from China and Japan coming to Columbia University. Many of these have, on returning home, occupied positions of distinction in the public service or in the intellectual life of their several countries. It would be hard to find two more outstanding men of their generation than the present ambassadors from the government of China to Paris and to Washington, their Excellencies V. Wellington Koo and Hu Shih. Both were students at Columbia and both have since received the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causâ*. Tong Shao-yi, as distinguished a statesman as China produced during the past generation, was for a time at Columbia during my own student days. We then formed a friendship which lasted until the end of his life, which was caused by a murderous assault little more than a year ago.<sup>1</sup> He had held some of the highest offices in the government of China and was a very impor-

<sup>1</sup>See p. 309.

tant factor—whether in office or behind the scenes—in shaping Chinese policy, both foreign and domestic.

In like manner I have known scores of important representatives of Japan, and in many cases have carried on personal correspondence with them over the years, covering almost every phase of national and international interest and policy. In the late spring of 1933 I was much disturbed at receiving from Japan, in strict confidence and from a thoroughly responsible source associated with the government, information as to what the policy of the government of that country was hereafter to be. I was told first that the government of Japan had, after long reflection, come to the conclusion that its contacts with the West had been harmful and not helpful, and that those contacts were to be brought to an end. Second, that the government of Japan proposed to renounce and denounce all existing treaties with Western powers which might be found to stand in the way of the new policies. Third, that Japan proposed to assume the existence of what might be called a Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia, and to find ways and means to reduce to a minimum, or to expel, the influence of Western powers in that part of the world. Fourth, that Japan proposed to take over economically and if necessary politically the government of China, of Indo-China and of the Dutch East Indies. Finally, that Japan did not propose to be halted in the progress of this policy no matter how long it might take, or to be diverted from it by any Western opposition or influence.

The more that I pondered this amazing declaration and weighed its source, the more certain I became, as one event in that part of the world quickly followed another, that Japan had begun to do precisely what my confidential information foretold. While all this was still

fresh in my mind, I received toward the close of November, 1934, a formal communication from the Associated Press of Japan asking me to prepare "a message on American-Japanese Relations suitable for commemorative use" to be published in the newspapers of Japan on the following New Year's Day. The invitation added these words:

"The Japanese people, whose country is now in a rather difficult position in international politics, are very anxious to hear frank and candid opinion from their close friends in the United States."

This invitation offered far too good an opportunity to be lost, so that I immediately made the following response for publication throughout Japan on the following New Year's Day:

December 11, 1934.

Mr. K. Iwamoto,  
c/o The Shimbun Rengo,  
383 Madison Avenue,  
New York.

My dear Sir:

You have been good enough to ask me for a message to the Japanese people to be published in Japan on New Year's Day. You tell me that the Japanese people are very anxious to hear frank and candid opinion from their close friends in the United States. I count myself one of these.

The progress which your people have made during the past two generations in civilization and in the arts which are dependent upon it, is one of the wonders of the modern world. Japan has gained for herself a place in the front rank of twentieth century peoples and her progress, her policies and her national ideals become matters of world-wide interest and of world-wide concern.

The present provisions of law regulating American immigration from Japan are both unbecoming in themselves and unfair to the Japanese people. These laws should have been amended years ago to provide that immigration from Japan shall be on precisely the same basis as immigration from any of the European countries.

I should be lacking in frankness, even in truthfulness, were I not to state the fact that in my judgment the government of Japan is at the present moment putting in gravest danger all the great and honorable reputation which her people have so finely won. Just as Germany has destroyed in three short years the vast influence and the proud leadership in so many fields which the progress of two hundred and fifty years had brought to her, so now Japan, by permitting the domination of her public policies by that militaristic party which is to be found actively at work in almost every land, is risking her international reputation, her international authority and her international acclaim.

It will not do to say that the problem of providing for Japan's rapidly expanding population can not be solved save by armed force and by conquest of new territory. That is not true. These problems can all be solved—as the liberal and moderate school of thought in Japan would, I feel sure, be glad to solve them—in terms of peaceful and friendly consultation and negotiation with other governments and with other peoples. Every one wishes Japan to prosper; every one wishes the standard of living of her people steadily and quickly to rise; every one wishes her to find new markets for her produce and ample food and other supplies for her growing population; but the civilized world will turn its back upon any people which insists upon trying to do these things by armed force. The day for that has passed.

Neither will it be sufficient to point to what other governments, including particularly those of Great Britain, France and the United States, have done in the past. Something more than two years ago an article by a Japanese writer was printed in an American monthly magazine under the caption, "America Teaches, Japan Learns." The argument of the writer was that everything which Japan was then undertaking and for which her government was being criticized, had been done, in principle at least, by the Government of the United States in connection

with the Panama Canal Zone, with the Dominican Republic, with Haiti, with Cuba, with Hawaii, and with the Philippine Islands. Granting the cleverness of this argument *ad hominem*, surely in this day and generation it will no longer be contended that a civilized nation may freely and without criticism undertake to imitate the blunders and wrong-doings of other civilized nations in years gone by.

It is the argument of children, and not of grown men, that the prestige of a nation is to be calculated in terms of its armed forces, whether on land or on sea. Japan has joined in formally and solemnly renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. What then does her government mean by so constantly and so openly preparing for war by huge new appropriations of public funds for military equipment and by insisting on every occasion on increasing its naval armament? The short and quick way for Japan to secure equality in naval armament is to join in limiting all armament and in setting up an international police force to guard the highways of the world's commerce. Any nation may have equality of naval armament when naval armament goes down to its desired minimum. Equality of naval armament when all nations are preparing for battle, is for Japan an absolute impossibility.

These are the frank and candid opinions for which you ask. They are given in a spirit of kindness and of hope. The peace of the world today upon which depends everything that man cares for most is threatened on the one hand by the policies of Japan, under the guidance of the militaristic elements of her population, and on the other by the long-time friction between Germany and France, which every effort is making to diminish to a point where in future years it will cease to exist.

In the movement toward international peace and restored economic prosperity, Japan may still take a leading position and gain for herself new and honorable reputation and new and more widely extended authority. Pray let her do so.

But she can not do this by pursuing a militaristic policy.

Very truly yours,

Nicholas Murray Butler.

## THE SHIMBUN RENGO

(The Associated Press of Japan)

Kiyosni Iwamoto  
New York Representative

383 Madison Avenue  
New York City  
December 11, 1934.

The Honorable Nicholas Murray Butler  
President of Columbia University  
405 West 117th Street  
New York City

Dear President Butler:

I have just received with great appreciation your letter of today's date setting forth your frank opinion about the American-Japanese Relations. This is just what we wanted and I am delighted to have it.

I am forwarding the message to Japan immediately to be published on New Year's Day in our member papers throughout Japan.

Again with sincere thanks, I am  
Sincerely yours,

K. Iwamoto  
New York Representative.

As I am not able to read Japanese, I could not learn from the Japanese papers when they reached New York what the editorial comments upon this Message were, but it certainly represented with entire frankness my own feeling, as a friend of Japan and its people, in regard to the policy which they were plainly pursuing. They were not travelling on the road to peace. Evidence that this Message reached the people of Japan in some form, although undoubtedly censored, is found in a specific reference to it in a recently published book by a distinguished Japanese writer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Seiji Hishida, *Japan among the Great Powers* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1940), p. 272.

## CONFERENCE AT CHATHAM HOUSE, 1935

Following the Great War, the fact was so plain that there must be a complete readjustment of international economic understanding and relationships that attention was quickly centered upon plans to accomplish this. Various suggestions were made, and, on the initiative of Great Britain, several European governments held a conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, in June and July, 1932, to study this whole subject. Unfortunately, the government of the United States had declined to participate in the Lausanne conference, and as a result another and separate world economic and financial conference was called to meet in London in 1933. The government of the United States agreed on May 31, 1932, to participate in this World Economic Conference "for the purpose of considering methods to stabilize world commodity prices." It excluded from consideration war debts, reparations and disarmament. This shortsighted policy on the part of the government of the United States increased the difficulty of dealing with the problem the solution of which underlay world prosperity and world peace. This international economic conference met in London in the month of June, 1933, in a spirit of hopefulness which almost reached confidence that at last something constructive and forward facing was to be accomplished. Unhappily, however, destructive and quarrelsome influences prevailed, and in a spirit of deep disappointment the conference collapsed in the month of July.

The situation which followed upon this truly tragic happening was so alarming that no effort was spared to repair the damage which had been done. As a result, and after many consultations and much correspondence with leaders of opinion in various lands, the Carnegie Endow-

ment for International Peace invited a group of outstanding representatives of government, of business and of academic life to meet at Chatham House in London to see if it might not be possible to agree upon a constructive program to present to the public opinion of civilized nations. The results surpassed all possible expectations. A conference composed of some sixty-two representatives from ten nations, whose names are a convincing testimony of their importance and representative character, sat in confidential session for many hours on each of three successive days and, to their own surprise as well as to the astonishment of the general public, agreed unanimously upon a simple, a definite and an easily understood program of international action to restore prosperity and to strengthen the foundations upon which international peace must rest. This conference at Chatham House proved to be the one outstanding successful conference held since the end of the Great War. Its program of action was quickly accepted by public opinion, formally endorsed and supported by the International Chamber of Commerce, a most representative body, and taken up in almost every land as something to be urged upon public opinion and upon governments.

The membership of that conference is so extraordinary and the statement of principles and policies arrived at so simple and so convincing that both are here given in full.

#### MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE

*The names of those unable to attend are printed in italics*

##### BELGIUM

M. Paul Van Zeeland, Brussels. Vice-Governor of the Bank of Belgium; Professor in the University of Louvain.

## FRANCE

M. Jacques Rueff, Paris. Directeur-Adjoint du Mouvement Général des Foncés in the Ministry of Finance.

M. René Seydoux, Paris. Sous-Directeur de l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques.

## GERMANY

Dr. Ernst Trendelenburg, Berlin. Vice-President of the Economic Chamber of the Reich; for some time Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce with special relationship to tariffs and customs' problems.

Dr. F. A. Grüger, *Secretary*, Berlin.

## HOLLAND

Dr. E. Heldring, Amsterdam. Former President of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce; Managing Director of the Netherlands Steamship Company and a Director of the Netherlands Bank.

## ITALY

Professor Luigi Amoroso, Rome. Professor of Economics in the University of Rome.

Dr. Umberto Padovan, *Secretary*, London.

## NORWAY

Sir Karl Knudsen, Oslo. President of the Norwegian Chamber of Commerce; Director of Hambrose Bank, Ltd.

## SWEDEN

Dr. E. Classen, London. Secretary of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce in London.

## GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Alan Anderson, London. Director of the Bank of England; Director of the Suez Canal Company; Manager of the Orient Line; Honorary Treasurer of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Sir Norman Angell, London. Author; Former M. P.; Awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1934.

*The Hon. Cyril Asquith*, London. Author; Barrister-at-Law.

Henry Bell, London. Banker.

*Sir William Beveridge*, London. Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science since 1919.

Wyndham A. Bewes, London. Secretary of Grotius Society.

Professor Arthur L. Bowley, London. Professor of Statistics in

the University of London; Member of the Council of the Royal Statistical Society.

Sir Edward Boyle, London. Chairman of the Balkan Committee.

C. J. L. Brock, *Secretary*. London. Secretary of the Dunford House (Cobden Memorial) Association.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, London. President of the League of Nations Union; M.P., 1906-1923; Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1915-1916; Minister of Blockade, 1916-1918; Lord Privy Seal, 1923-1924; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1924-1927.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, London. M. P., Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1903-1906 and 1919-1921; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1924-1929.

Professor Henry Clay, London. Economic Adviser to Bank of England.

The Most Hon. The Marquess of Crewe, London. Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1908-1910; and for India, 1910-1915; Ambassador to France, 1922-1928.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Dickinson, London. President of the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches; Chairman of the London Council of Social Service.

G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, London. Honorary Secretary of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Dr. George P. Gooch, London. Economist and Historian; Joint Editor of British Documents on the origin of the war.

Professor T. E. G. Gregory, London. Professor of Banking in the University of London.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, London. M. P.; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1929-1931; President, Disarmament Conference, 1932-1933.

Francis W. Hirst, London. Economist; Editor of *The Economist*, 1907-1916.

J. B. Hobman, London. Journalist; Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, 1922-1928

The Rt. Hon. Lord Howard of Penrith, London. Member of British Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919; Ambassador to the United States, 1924-1930.

Sir Robert A. Johnson, London. Deputy Master and Controller of the Royal Mint since 1922.

Harcourt Johnstone, London. M. P.; Liberal Party Whip.

Commander Stephen King-Hall, London. Author and Publicist.

Sir Walter T. Layton, London. Editor of *The Economist* since 1922.

The Most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian, London. Secretary of the Rhodes Trust since 1925; Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the India Office, 1931-1932.

Ivison S. Macadam, London. Secretary of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Sir Charles E. Mallet, London. M. P., 1906-1910; Financial Secretary to the War Office, 1910-1911; Secretary for Indian Students at the India Office, 1912-1916.

J. Ramsay Muir, London. Historian and man of letters; President of the National Liberal Federation since 1933.

Professor Gilbert Murray, Oxford. Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford University; Chairman, League of Nations Union; Member of the European Committee of the Carnegie Endowment.

Sir George Paish, London. On the editorial staff of the *Statist*, 1888-1916; Adviser to the British Government on financial and economic questions, 1914-1916.

J. Beaumont Pease, London. Chairman of Lloyds Bank, Ltd.

Sir Percival Perry, London. Chairman of Ford Motor Company, Ltd., Director of National Provincial Bank.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Queenborough, London. Treasurer of the League of Nations Union.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Rhayader, London. M. P., 1905-1918, 1923-1924, 1929-1931; Liberal and Labour candidate at several elections.

Professor Lionel C. Robbins, London. Professor of Economics in the University of London.

The Hon. Francis Rodd, London. Banker; Student of international finance.

J. A. De Rothschild, London. M. P. since 1929.

Sir Arthur Salter, London. Gladstone Professor of Political Theory and Institutions in Oxford University.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, London. M. P.; Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party.

J. A. Spender, Chelsfield, Kent. Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, 1896-1922; Member of the European Committee of the Carnegie Endowment.

Harold Stannard, London. Journalist; Correspondent of the Carnegie Endowment.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, London. Former M. P.; Minister of Labour, 1924-1929.

Sir Henry Strakosch, London. Member of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations since 1920; Member of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, 1925-1926; Delegate of India to Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933.

Arnold J. Toynbee, London. Author; Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Hartley Withers, Ingatestone, Essex. Editor of *The Economist*, 1916-1921; Editor of Financial Supplement of *Saturday Review*, 1921-1923.

Professor Alfred Zimmern, Oxford. Montague Burton Professor of International Relations in Oxford University.

#### CANADA

Professor W. A. Mackintosh, Kingston, Ontario. Professor of Economics in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

#### UNITED STATES

Nicholas Murray Butler, New York. President of Columbia University; President of the Carnegie Endowment.

Malcolm W. Davis, Geneva. Representative of the Carnegie Endowment at Geneva.

Leon Fraser, Basel. President of the Bank for International Settlements at Basel.

Charles O. Hardy, Washington, D. C. Member of the Research Staff, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Henry S. Haskell, Secretary, New York. Assistant to the Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment.

Philip C. Jessup, New York. Associate Professor of International Law in Columbia University.

Peter Molyneaux, San Antonio, Texas. Editor of *The Texas Weekly*; a Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment.

The Hon. Frederic M. Sackett, Louisville, Ky. United States

Senator, 1925-1930; Ambassador of United States to Germany, 1930-1933.

### PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

#### TUESDAY, MARCH 5

The President of the Carnegie Endowment opened the Conference.

The Most Honorable the Marquess of Crewe in the Chair.

Discussion opened by Dr. E. Heldring of Amsterdam.

Topic: *The promotion of trade, the reduction of unemployment and the restoration of agricultural prosperity.*

#### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6

J. A. Spender, Esq., in the Chair.

Discussion opened by Professor T. E. G. Gregory of the University of London.

Topic: *The stabilization of national monetary systems.*

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 7

The Right Honorable Sir Austen Chamberlain in the Chair.

Discussion opened by Professor Philip C. Jessup of Columbia University in the City of New York.

Topic: *The better organization of the family of nations in order to restore confidence, to give security and to strengthen the foundations on which international peace must rest.*

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

##### I

1. Seeing that the commercial policy of creditor nations is of supreme moment to the financial and economic stability of debtor countries in all parts of the world, this Conference recommends that the governments of the United States and Great Britain, the world's greatest creditor nations, be requested to consult together and with such other governments as it might be advisable to approach, for the purpose of agreeing upon

measures to enable the debtor nations to meet their obligations in goods and services and thus of materially assisting in the work of creating stability and restoring confidence.

2. The Conference draws the attention of governments to the desirability of forming low tariff or free trade unions on the model of the Ouchy Convention to which any nation which did not originally join might afterwards adhere on the same terms.

In this connection attention is also directed to the treaty drafted at the Montevideo Pan-American Conference, with special reference to the most-favored-nation clause.

## II

Seeing that the instability of currencies and the chaotic condition of exchanges are among the chief causes of:—

1. the difficulties which trade experiences every day in concluding international transactions;

2. many of the barriers farther restricting that trade, such as exchange restrictions, compensation and clearing treaties, quotas, and many of the increases of tariffs;

3. the accumulation of gold at a few centres and the hoarding of gold on an extensive scale;

4. the discouragement of long-term lending, the resumption of which would mean increased movement of goods and a reduction in the abnormal volume of floating balances;

5. a narrowing of the world's market and a decline of world prices,

We recommend that the leading governments, especially in the first instance those of France, Great Britain and the United States, should consult one another without delay for the purpose of coming to a provisional stabilization of exchange on the basis of gold—allowing for the possibility of readjustment in case of need—with a view to the establishment of a stable world gold standard.

## III

Fundamentally, international, economic and financial problems depend for their solution upon the preservation of peace and the restoration of political confidence and security.

Throughout the world, the people as a whole are earnestly

desirous of peace and eagerly anxious that practical steps be taken to secure it.

Therefore, the policies of governments and their use of the organs of international organization should be such as will strengthen the habit of consultation between nations on equal terms, and thus keep them out of the atmosphere of war which, when it exists, makes almost impossible an adequate period of time for negotiation and the peaceful solution of disputes. These policies would include:—

1. Strengthening the League of Nations and increasing its influence and authority as an impartial instrument of all the nations.
2. Steadily building the habit of the judicial settlement of international disputes by use of the Permanent Court of International Justice, of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of commissions of enquiry and conciliation.
3. Checking the constant growth of armaments which may so easily be used for violating the pledge given in the Pact of Paris and which are so heavy a burden upon the tax-payer.
4. Steps to increase the effectiveness of the Pact of Paris by providing a regular method of consultation and by affording an adequate interpretation of the Pact and of the obligations implicit in it.
5. Recognition by peoples as well as by governments of the fact that continuous consultation is the best safeguard against war and that should restraints ever be necessary, economic measures could or would be effective if virtually universal and that, if effective, military measures would be unnecessary.
6. Co-operation of the nations to raise the standard of living of their several peoples and to assist in solving their pressing social problems as has already been undertaken through the International Labour Organisation.

#### IV

Believing it to be important that there shall be made available in accessible form all possible accurate information with respect to international economic relations, we recommend that the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the officers and directors of the International Chamber of

Commerce shall give consideration to the practicability of sponsoring jointly the institution of a competent commission to make a comprehensive and exhaustive survey and study of international economic relations in all of their aspects, to the end that a better understanding of these relations by the peoples of the world may be promoted and the cause of economic stability and progress furthered.

## IV

### AN EPISODE OF THE ENDLESS ADVENTURE

THE late Frederic S. Oliver, who made an international reputation a quarter-century ago by his unrivalled biography and interpretation of Alexander Hamilton, wrote toward the close of his life another extraordinary book to which he gave the title, *The Endless Adventure*.<sup>1</sup> By the endless adventure Mr. Oliver meant the government of men, and his book, which is built about the life and public policies of Robert Walpole, is truly a masterpiece in its field. What I wish to describe at the moment is an episode in this endless adventure which to me has been a most important and moving memory for more than a quarter century. It was many years before I felt at liberty to make public reference to it.

From time to time during the past forty years, it has been my honor and privilege to be in close and confidential contact and conversation with members of the governments of ten of the world's great nations at times when problems of largest importance, national and international, have been under consideration and discussion. These were the governments of Great Britain, of Holland, of Belgium, of France, of Germany, of Czechoslovakia, of Hungary, of Austria, of Italy and of Greece.

<sup>1</sup>F. S. Oliver, *Alexander Hamilton: An Essay on American Union*. (London: 1906; new edition, 1931, 430 pp.). *The Endless Adventure* (London: 1930, Vol. I, 428 pp., 1931, Vol. II, 333 pp.).

The episode of which I now write arose from one of those contacts and gave me illuminating personal insight into one of the greatest crises in the history and development of the British constitution. This happening had to do with the so-called Constitutional Conference which was held in London during the summer of 1910, with a view to avoiding violent revolution or nationwide discontent, either of which might have resulted from the form and severity of the bitter struggle which the long contest between the House of Commons and the House of Lords had then taken. That struggle had been in progress for some two hundred and fifty years. It had taken many different forms and the emphasis upon it had varied greatly from generation to generation. A fundamental question was whether it was constitutional to create peers in order to gain a majority in the House of Lords for some policy desired and insisted upon by the House of Commons, but resisted, and successfully resisted, by the House of Lords as then constituted. Many had forgotten that so long ago as the time of Queen Anne, now two hundred and twenty-seven years, peers were created in order to enable the government of that day to ratify the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713-14. By this treaty Gibraltar and practical control of the Mediterranean, together with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, passed into the hands of Great Britain. Whenever anything arose to cause friction between the two Houses there was always some one ready to suggest that what Queen Anne had done, on the recommendation of the Earl of Oxford, be done again. The House of Lords, it was insisted, must not be permitted to stand in the way of the House of Commons supported by the public will.

The background of that long struggle between the two Houses of Parliament is of fascinating interest. The bicameral legislative system originated more or less by

chance. There was, apparently, no deliberate intention to have a two-chamber Parliament, because originally the groups advisory to the monarch met sometimes in one, sometimes in two and sometimes in three different parts or groups. It took some time for the bicameral system to develop, and when it did so develop it was perfectly appropriate, in accordance with the economic and social distinctions of the time, that the commoners and the knights of the shire should go one way and the bishops, the abbots and the lords of the manor should go the other way. So the two Houses of Parliament came into existence almost by accident. It was the doctrine of Blackstone that the Crown, the Lords and the Commons were each of equal authority in the government of England. The Crown's status was greatly changed, however, by the Revolution of 1688; and in the years following, the rise of the Whig oligarchy led to the institution of the cabinet system, the cleverest device ever produced in the history of monarchy. By it the monarch nominally retains his full measure of authority, but is to exercise it only on the advice of his ministers who, in turn, are dependent for their authority upon the support of a majority in the House of Commons. Nearly two hundred years ago the House of Commons asserted that it had the sole right to control money bills, which meant anything relating to taxation or to the appropriation of public moneys. The House of Lords never assented in form to that doctrine, but it did yield to it in practice. This was made the more easy because before 1832 most ministers were peers, and the peers controlled elections to membership in the House of Commons through the electoral system as it then existed. Indeed, of all the prime ministers down to that time, only Walpole and the two Pitts were commoners. The passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 postponed the crisis, which finally came to a head in 1910. The Reform

Bill of 1832 was made possible only because Earl Grey threatened to create peers in order to secure its passage by the House of Lords. When the time came he found it unnecessary to do so, because Wellington and one hundred other Tory peers declined to vote. This permitted the Reform Bill to pass. The crisis of 1910 was hastened by the Parliamentary Representation Bill of 1867 and 1868, which broadened the basis of suffrage and made the electorate more widely democratic, as well as by the growth of the great force of Liberal opinion led by Earl Grey, Russell, Palmerston, Gladstone and Bright. Then came the check toward the close of the nineteenth century, due in no small measure to the South African war, which was succeeded in turn by the great Liberal sweep of January, 1906. Then it was that the crisis began to take definite form. The Liberal Party, headed by Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey and Haldane, obtained a huge majority in the House of Commons. They immediately began the formulation of a new set of policies of taxation and of social reform, which went to the very bottom of the economic and political structure of Great Britain. These measures were vigorously opposed in the House of Lords and for two years were uniformly defeated there. Each time the Liberal ministry went to the country and each time the Liberal ministry was returned with a majority. Public opinion was well tested on these issues and supported them by overwhelming vote. However, the Liberal majority was far less in 1909 than it had been in 1906, and indeed had it not been for the representatives of the newly organized Labor Party and the Irish representatives, the House of Commons would have been almost a tie. The government majority of sixty or seventy in the House of Commons of 1909 was made up of the Labor vote and the Irish vote. Asquith, who was then Prime Minister, and

Lloyd George, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, pressed their budget and their reform bills. These were quickly thrown out by the House of Lords which was, however, discussing ways and means to reconstitute and reform itself. Mr. Asquith dissolved Parliament and went to the country. His government came back with substantially the same majority as before. The budget and the reform bills were passed again. The House of Lords threw them out again. Once more, Mr. Asquith dissolved Parliament and went to the country, and the election was held amid the greatest excitement. The very foundations of the constitution of Great Britain seemed to be shaking, and men were wondering what could possibly happen next, save revolution or the complete overthrow of the House of Lords.

It was the death of King Edward VII on May 7, 1910, which produced the psychological background for what next took place. The King having died and his relatively young son having come to the throne, it seemed to the ministry that no stone must be left unturned to solve the urgent political problem of the moment without revolution and without anything which could approach disorder either in law or in fact. It was then that Mr. Asquith conceived the notion of calling a Constitutional Conference. This was done with entire secrecy and the greatest privacy. Mr. Asquith said afterwards that its first meeting was held on June 17, 1910. No one knew where it met and no one knew what it was to do. Even now, after thirty years, the membership of that conference is frequently incorrectly stated in books of reference. All that the public was permitted to know was contained in the single sentence given to the newspapers of the day following a meeting of the Constitutional Conference. This sentence uniformly was: "The Constitutional Conference

met yesterday." Where they met, what they did, what progress, if any, was making, were absolutely private and absolutely secret. No one outside the membership of the conference knew anything.

During the third week of June, 1910, I arrived in London and shortly thereafter received the following personal letter from Mr. Asquith, who was Prime Minister, written, as his custom was, in his own handwriting. He never dictated such letters even as Prime Minister.

FIRST LORD  
OF THE TREASURY

10 Downing Street,  
Whitehall, S. W.  
1 July 1910.

*Private*

Dear President Butler,

As you are no doubt aware, an informal Conference, representing the leaders of the two great political parties, is at present sitting to discuss some aspects of our Constitutional machinery.

The members of the Conference would be glad, if they might, to take advantage of your presence in this country to ask you for information in regard to the practical working of some parts of your Federal and State arrangements.

If it is not trespassing too much on your courtesy, and if the time suggested is not inconvenient to you, I would venture to invite you to attend a meeting of the Conference in the Prime Minister's room at the House of Commons on Tuesday next the 5th at 5:15 p.m.

I enclose a rough list of the points in regard to which questions might possibly be addressed to you.

Our proceedings are of necessity conducted in strict privacy, and I would beg you to be good enough to regard this communication as confidential.

Believe me with great respect

Very faithfully yours,  
H. H. Asquith

President  
N. Murray Butler

(Enclosure)

THE PRIME MINISTER

- (1) Methods of election of Second Chambers in States.
- (2) Provision (if any) for deadlock in State Legislatures between the two Houses.
- (3) Use in States of referendum, or any analogous procedure.
- (4) As regards *Federal* finance. (a) constitutional limitations on financial legislation. (b) actual working powers of Senate.

Of course, I told Mr. Asquith that it would be the greatest privilege and honor to meet the Constitutional Conference. He had fixed July 5 at quarter-past five in the afternoon. My confidential instructions were to discharge my cab before reaching St. Stephen's at precisely five o'clock, and then to go on foot into the courtyard of the second arch, where I should find a policeman. I was to identify myself by making a certain motion of my right hand. The policeman would thereby recognize me. I was to say nothing to him, but simply to follow him.

I arrived at St. Stephen's at two or three minutes of five and held my watch in my hand until five o'clock struck. I then entered the archway and put out my right hand toward the policeman. He at once saluted me and turned. I followed him along a corridor, up a flight of stairs, and along another corridor. He opened a door and took me into the room of the Secretary to the Prime Minister, who rose and bowed politely without opening his lips. He moved to a door and opened it and I went in. There was the Constitutional Conference in session in the Prime Minister's private study, seated about a table, ready to receive the visitor for whom they had asked—

the only foreigner, Mr. Asquith told me, who was ever permitted to meet the Conference. Seated at the right side of the table were the four members who represented the government—Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister; Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl Crewe (as he then was), Lord Rosebery's son-in-law, Secretary for the Colonies; and Mr. Augustine Birrell, the famous author, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. On the other side of the table were Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Marquess of Lansdowne and Earl Cawdor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of Foreign Affairs and First Lord of the Admiralty, respectively, in the last Conservative government. Mr. Arthur Balfour, the last Conservative Prime Minister and the fourth Conservative member of the Conference, was prevented by illness from being present. Of this distinguished group of statesmen, only the Marquess of Crewe and Mr. Lloyd George are now living. Each year, as we meet in London, we find ourselves returning to memories of this very remarkable Constitutional Conference. All these gentlemen were either old friends or acquaintances with the exception of Earl Cawdor, to whom I was formally presented by Mr. Asquith. I was shown a seat and asked, without further formality or delay, to make as full a statement as I could on our bicameral legislative system; how did it arise, what was its history, what is its constitutional basis, how are the two Houses constituted, what are their relative powers and restrictions, if any, and how are differences between them settled. I had made no preparation, of course, for all this and was obliged to speak from memory. The Constitution of the United States, its judicial interpretation and the history of the legislative system which it created were entirely familiar to me, as were also the constitutions of the states of New York, of New Jersey and of Massachu-

setts. I knew, also, that in New Jersey and in Ohio the Governor's power of veto did not extend any farther than to compel the reconsideration of any act which the Governor did not approve. In either state the legislature could re-enact, by the same vote as that by which it was originally passed, any measure which the Governor had vetoed and on so doing that act became law. The Constitutional Conference was very solicitous for information about that particular point. They wanted to know how far that was true of the Federal Legislature. We went into all these matters in minute detail, and after nearly two hours of conference, I suggested that perhaps they would allow me opportunity to see whether I could find in London some of the source books that would enable me to add to the information which I was giving them from memory. When we separated, the Conference invited me to return the next day, July 6, at the same hour.

After that first meeting on the 5th, Mr. Asquith wrote me the following letter:

THE PRIME MINISTER

10, Downing Street  
Whitehall, S. W.  
5 July 1910

*Confidential*

Dear President Butler

I desire, on behalf of all the members of our Conference, to express to you our most sincere gratitude for the invaluable help which you rendered us today.

It would even enhance our sense of obligation to you, if you could find time, in the course of the next week or fortnight, to put in the form of a written memorandum the main substance of the information which you were so kind as to afford us.

Believe me, with much respect,  
Very faithfully yours  
H. H. ASQUITH

President Murray Butler



10, Downing Street.  
Whitehall, S.W.

Confidential

5 Aug 1910

Dr. President Taft

I desire, on behalf  
of all the members  
of our Conference, to  
express to you our  
most sincere gratitude  
for the warmth

help which you  
wanted us to do.

It would even enhance  
our sense of obligation to you,  
if you could find time,  
in the course of the next  
week or fortnight, to  
put in the form of  
a written memorandum

the main substance of  
the information which  
you were so kind as to  
afford me.

Believe me, with much  
respect,

Very faithfully yours

J. W. Aspinwall  
President ~~Long~~ <sup>Long</sup> Boston

I then made a search of London—the British Museum, the various Inns of Court and London University—and found the scantiest possible provision for the student of American history and public law. There was nothing of any consequence at the American Embassy; there was practically nothing at the University of London; there was practically nothing at any of the Inns of Court. I may say that as a result of that experience the Carnegie Endowment shortly thereafter put in the University of London several thousand volumes on American public history and law, including a complete set of United States Supreme Court Reports and the most important source books and documents in the field of public law. A few years ago we had the pleasure to present a somewhat similar collection, although a smaller one, to the Library of the Middle Temple.

In response to Mr. Asquith's request I wrote out the substance of what I had said before the Conference on July 5 and 6, and this statement was printed on the peculiar blue paper used only for printing documents that are confidential to members of the Cabinet. Only so many copies of this document were printed as were needed to supply one to each member of the Conference and to each member of the Cabinet, and to give me the few which I still have.

The Constitutional Conference was seeking light from the public law and history of the United States to see what lessons they might learn in attempting to solve the grave problems which had arisen in the working of their own parliamentary system. They were enormously interested in hearing of our system of committees of conference when differences arose between the two Houses of Congress. They were especially interested when I told them that on some very important occasions, these committees

of conference had inserted in their reports matters in a form quite different from those discussed or passed upon by either of the Houses which had constituted these committees of conference. They also wanted to know about the operation of the Presidential veto. This was easily explained. They asked what happened in the case of a prolonged difference between the House and the Senate, and of course it was necessary to point out that in dealing with that situation our system was an imperfect one, because while the terms of the members of the House of Representatives expired at one and the same time, and there might be something approaching a nationwide expression of public opinion in choosing their successors, this was not possible in the case of the Senate. The fact that the terms of Senators expired in two or four or six years made it quite impossible to get any nationwide expression of public opinion which would have an immediate and direct effect upon the action of that body.

Mr. Asquith again and again impressed upon me that I must keep absolutely confidential who the members of the Conference were, the fact that I had been there myself, or had been asked any questions, or had given them any information whatever. I have preserved that confidence for a quarter of a century. When Mr. Asquith's—he had then become the Earl of Oxford and Asquith—*Memories and Reflections*<sup>1</sup> was published, he mentioned the Constitutional Conference and stated that I had been before it. On reading that, I asked surviving members of the Conference whether I might now speak of the matter in public. Their reply was, "Yes, it is all so long ago now that it can make no difference." But so heated was the controversy at the time and so bitter the debate, that

<sup>1</sup>H. H. Asquith (Earl of Oxford and Asquith), *Memories and Reflections: 1852-1927* (London: Cassell & Co., 1928), I, 235-8.

privacy and secrecy were essential if Mr. Asquith's plan for a peaceable settlement was to have any measure of success. It had no success. On July 29, after twelve meetings, Mr. Asquith made a general report concerning the Conference to the House of Commons before that body adjourned for the summer, stating that: "Our discussions have made such progress, although we have not so far reached an agreement, as to render it, in the opinion of all of us, not only desirable but necessary that they should continue."<sup>1</sup> The Conference met about thirty times in all, and ended its sessions on November 10, 1910, having failed to come to any agreement on the measures at issue or as to how to settle the differences of procedure between the Lords and the Commons. Therefore, Mr. Asquith dissolved and went to the country again. He once more got a majority.

By this time the government had determined that the long struggle between the two Houses of Parliament must be brought to an end by the enactment of a law that would establish, once and for all, the supremacy of the House of Commons. They were not willing to wait longer for any of the proposed reforms of the House of Lords to be undertaken. They wished to bring the whole matter to its end. Therefore, they pushed forward in the House of Commons the Parliament Bill which had been introduced and discussed months earlier, and in every practicable way gave notice of their intention to leave no stone unturned to secure its enactment into law. Meanwhile, Lord Lansdowne had introduced in the House of Lords his important and far-reaching proposals for the reform of that body, but the government would have nothing to do with these. It insisted upon its own measure. This provided that if a money bill had been passed by

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 236.

the House of Commons and sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, and was not passed by the House of Lords without amendment within one month, the bill should then be presented to the King and become an act of Parliament on receiving his assent notwithstanding that the House of Lords had not consented to it. In addition, it defined a money bill as one which, in the opinion of the Speaker, was such. When this point was reached it was evident that the end could not long be delayed. In the new Parliament the government repassed its much debated bills and sent the Parliament Bill to the House of Lords. In a letter addressed to Mr. Balfour on July 20, 1911, Mr. Asquith stated that if the House of Lords did not accept the Parliament Bill, the King had been pleased to signify that he would consider it his duty to accept and to act upon the advice of his ministers and create sufficient peers to secure the passage of this bill by the House of Lords. This authoritative declaration produced a disturbance of the first magnitude. Bitter and very heated discussion followed. Lord Lansdowne sent a letter to the Conservative peers advising them that, as happened in 1832, it was a case of the bill with peers or of the bill without peers, since it would be the bill in any case. He urged abstention from further opposition. Mr. Balfour agreed with this advice of Lord Lansdowne. The so-called Die-Hard Conservatives took a very different view. Finally, the matter came to its conclusion in the House of Lords, which again threw out the disputed bill. The Commons repassed it, and it was then plain that the end was in sight.

In Switzerland I received a cable from John Morley, who was then Lord Morley, the government leader in the House of Lords, saying, "Come to London at once." He knew that I wanted to see what happened in the

House of Lords. I went back to London as quickly as possible, and on the two nights during which the debate took place I stood at the bar of the House of Lords without moving. On the first night, August 9, the debate lasted from four o'clock until midnight, and on the second night it lasted from four o'clock until the vote was taken at about eleven o'clock. Lord Morley always said that I had the proud distinction of being the only human being who heard every word of that debate. The Lord Chancellor, the clerks at the table, the peers themselves and the guests in the gallery all went out for tea or for dinner or for both, and came back at intervals. I never moved from my place for I was perfectly fascinated, knowing that I was at a turning point in the history of representative institutions, and I wanted to see and hear precisely what happened.

I shall never forget the moment when Lord Morley was asked from the Conservative side of the House:

Is the noble Lord ready to say that he has the promise of His Majesty the King to create enough peers to pass this measure?

Morley very slowly arose and put on his glasses. He took from his pocket a paper and with great dignity and clearness read the precise language of the statement which the government had been authorized by His Majesty to make. The Archbishop of Canterbury then arose and said that under these circumstances he would vote with the government. Others did the same. At eleven o'clock on the night of August 10, 1911, the final vote was taken. It was 131 in the affirmative to 114 in the negative, but the Marquess of Lansdowne and three hundred other peers abstained from voting. The bills were passed; the deadlock was resolved; the crisis was over.

A new chapter in the constitutional history of England

had been written. By the way in which the matter was handled and by the virtual co-operation of Lord Lansdowne and Arthur Balfour, the creation of peers was avoided. The Parliament Bill became the law of the land and the long-disputed government measures for taxation and social reform were also enacted into law. It is now established in Great Britain that only the House of Commons has jurisdiction in respect to a bill which deals either with taxation or appropriation; that the Speaker shall in case of dispute decide whether a given bill is or is not a money bill, and that any other bill passed by the Commons and not accepted by the Lords, and repassed three times by the Commons and not accepted by the Lords within two years, becomes with the assent of the King the law of the land.

So that out of that two and a half centuries of friction, contention and debate there came the great Parliament Act of 1911, which settled once for all a matter that bade fair to go to the very roots of the political life of the English people. It is of interest and importance for Americans to know that the English statesmen who were concerned in the last stages of this great debate were so eager to learn of our experience in the United States and of all the details of the operation of our bicameral legislative system.

We underestimate the importance and ability of the House of Lords. The finest and the ablest parliamentary debating in the world often takes place in that body at the present time. The newspapers pay little attention to it because it has no direct effect on governmental policy. It has, however, a very marked effect on public opinion, and *The London Times* never fails to report it in full and to comment upon it. Some fifteen years ago I listened in the House of Lords for two or three hours to

the most distinguished debate which I have ever heard in any parliamentary body in the world. It dealt with questions of foreign policy growing out of the Great War, and it was participated in by four men—Asquith, Haldane, Grey and Balfour—but they were four of the greatest men that our time has produced. Another remarkable debate was initiated in December, 1933, by Lord Lothian on the question of India and the responsibility of the British people for its government. That debate paved the way for the far-reaching Government of India Bill, which is now law. On April 8, 1936, far and away the most illuminating, most elevated and most distinguished discussion of the present troubled situation in Europe and in the world took place in the House of Lords, extending over three or four hours of an afternoon session.

There is so much one can say about the significance of all this for those who believe in democracy, who are interested in the guidance and direction and expression of public opinion, and in building those institutions which will give public opinion opportunity to work normally, freely and wisely, that one could write almost without end about the importance for the rest of the world of the happenings in England of those years, 1910-11.

## V

## WHEN WAR CAME IN 1914

**O**N Sunday, June 28, 1914, my wife and I, then in Paris, drove out with our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Henry Olin of New York, to the charming hotel in the Forêt de Compiègne for luncheon. We went out by Senlis, Pierrefonds and Soissons, all of which were destined to become names very familiar to the whole world within a few weeks. In the quiet of the Forest on a beautiful summer's day, there could be no possible hint that within eight weeks from that moment the general staff of the invading German army would have made its headquarters at that very hotel. When we returned to Paris late in the afternoon, extra copies of the newspapers were being sold on the boulevards with loud shoutings. These extra editions of the newspapers announced the killing of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo a few hours earlier. Olin and I looked at each other inquiringly and the same thought passed through the mind of each of us: "What does this mean? What is going to happen now?"

A few days afterwards we started on a delightful automobile trip to the south of France, and after refreshing our memories of the old Roman remains in the valley of the Rhone, of Carcassonne, of the charming university town of Montpellier and of the Riviera, went on to that most

delightful of all resting places, the Villa d'Este on Lake Como. From there, after a few days, we crossed Italy in leisurely fashion, stopping at Bergamo, at Brescia and at Verona, to Venice, from which point we were to go to Cortina in the Dolomites for a stay of some length. During these days the happenings, even as imperfectly reported in the public press, were by no means reassuring. Austria was openly threatening Serbia and that there was restlessness in Russia and in Germany was quite obvious. Nevertheless, a general European war, to say nothing of a world war, seemed so grotesque an outcome of even the tragic happenings in the Danubian country that it did not occur to any of us as at all probable. Each morning while in Venice, I spent some little time with the manager of the bank and with the postmaster, discussing the latest news that came to us. We were all of opinion that war was most unlikely. However, on Friday, July 31, even the printed news which, as we well understood, was only a fraction of the real news, took on so serious an aspect that we decided to return in the quickest possible manner to Paris, since from there a retreat to America, were that necessary, could probably be managed without difficulty. Our automobile was over on the mainland at Mestre, and between six and seven o'clock on Saturday morning, August 1, we were there with our hand luggage, having shipped our trunks by rail to Milan. We started quickly across Italy, going this time via Padua, Mantua and Lodi. At Este we stopped for an early *déjeuner* and there found a crowd about the little inn, straining their eyes to read the headlines of an extra edition of the local newspaper. It contained the announcement of the murder on the previous evening of M. Jaurès at a café on Montmartre. This was serious news indeed, for it revealed a state of opinion in Paris which was of itself grave. The death of M. Jaurès

saddened me inexpressibly, for only six weeks earlier he and I had taken luncheon together. At that time he seemed in excellent health, though greatly disturbed over the European outlook. As we walked in the garden after luncheon on a quiet Sunday afternoon, he praised in unmeasured terms the ideals and activities of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and said, in the last words that I ever heard fall from his lips: "Do not let anything discourage you. Keep at it. You are bound to win one of these days." It was with these solemn words ringing in my ears that we sped on our way across Italy to Milan.

Coming to Milan in the early evening, we went to the Hotel Cavour where we had always been in the habit of stopping, and found it almost empty, as would naturally be the case in midsummer. No one seemed particularly disturbed except ourselves. On the following morning, Sunday, August 2, we started to cross the Simplon hoping to get at least as far as Lausanne before nightfall. As we drove out of Milan, to our great surprise we found the road blocked by enormous numbers of cavalry and artillery moving north. It was this which opened our eyes to what was really going on just below the horizon of public information. So delayed were we that we did not reach Stresa on the way to the foot of the Pass, where we should have been by nine o'clock, until nearly noon. After a quick luncheon, we were re-entering our motor when the concierge asked, with great unconcern, where we were going. We replied, "Over the Simplon and, if possible, as far as Lausanne." "Oh," he said, "the Simplon is closed. You cannot go over it." That was impossible, we replied, because at the moment there were scores of automobiles in plain sight coming down by the road that led to the Pass. "Oh, yes," was the answer, "you can come into Italy by

the Simplon, but you cannot go out." There was nothing to do but to turn right-about face and dash back to the Milan station. It was after four o'clock when we reached it. We spent almost our last ready money in purchasing tickets to Paris by the Simplon Express, which we were assured would leave at 5:20 P.M. as usual. Our trunks were registered to Paris and our places were taken for the night trip. Our chauffeur, who was a Frenchman, was instructed to take the car back to Paris by the Mont Cenis route and to meet us there in two days' time. This faithful and skilful man was called to the colors and within thirty days was killed in battle near the Alsatian border.

Promptly, at the hour fixed, the Simplon Express started for Paris. All went well through the great tunnel and we were proceeding quietly down the Rhone Valley in Switzerland on a superb moonlight night. We went to bed expecting to be awakened within an hour of Paris and to be back at our hotel for breakfast. At about eleven-thirty, however, there came a knock on the door and the conductor of the train said to us, in perfectly quiet and passionless words, that the French frontier was closed at Pontarlier and that this train would not go beyond that point. My reply was that I had been at Pontarlier and did not desire to go there again. What time would the train reach Lausanne? "At about one o'clock," was the answer. So we dressed and, when the train rolled into the perfectly quiet and deserted Lausanne station, got out upon the perron. Not a human being of any sort or kind was in sight, save those who, like ourselves, were alighting from the Simplon Express. The moonlight was superb, but everything save the moonlight was death itself. With my own hands I unloaded our trunks from the luggage car and then went in search of some sort of conveyance to

take my wife and daughter and the rest of our company to the Hotel Cecil—where we were well known as previous visitors. No taxicab was visible in any direction. Finally, however, several hundred yards distant from the station and around a sharp corner, I found a taxicab and its driver sound asleep in his place. He was wakened and brought back to the station and shortly our party, with our small hand luggage, was at the hotel. On the steps stood the manager, wringing his hands. "I am very sorry, Mr. Butler, but there is no possibility of my taking any of you in. Not only is every room filled, but I have had to give places to sleep on the sofas in the sitting rooms and drawing room, and have even had to put mattresses in the bathtubs! All our menservants have left in response to the government's call and I do not know what we can do for food in the morning." I urged that something must be done for the ladies at least, and finally he consented to telephone to another hotel in the hope that we might get in there. He was successful to a limited degree, and the five members of our party were distributed around between sofas in sitting rooms and bathtubs. At that hotel, also, they were informed that there would probably be no food in the morning and, as a matter of fact, my wife herself made the coffee in the hotel kitchen for our company when early morning came. There was no sleep for me, and in an hour or two I went back to the station to see what the situation really was. There I found a solitary human being. He was a German Swiss who held an official position in the railway service and was perhaps something over seventy years of age. He looked me over very carefully to make sure that I was not an enemy or a spy, and then we entered into a most interesting conversation. He told me that the reason why nobody was in sight was that the men had all been called to the colors, since an invasion of

Switzerland was expected on the part of the Austrian army and that his own three sons had been taken. He said that he himself would not have to go since he was too old, and that he had been in the War of 1870-71. Then he added this never-to-be-forgotten bit of wisdom: "Sir," he said, "this is not a people's war. This is a kings' war. When it is over, there may not be so many kings." Words of truer prophecy were never uttered by a human being. I then asked where I should find my trunks.

"What trunks?"

"Those that came in last night on the Simplon Express."

"Were they taken off?"

"Yes, I took them off myself."

"Then they are precisely where you left them, since there is no one here to touch them."

Together, the old man and I got a luggage truck and went down the perron for my trunks and brought them back to the platform from which trains departed to the south. How could I get to Paris, I asked.

"You cannot get to Paris. The French frontier is absolutely closed."

"Why can I not take a boat across the Lake to Evian?"

"Because the French government will not permit you to land," was the reply.

"Then, there is nothing for it," I said, "but to go back to Milan."

"You cannot do that either," he said, "since the only passengers allowed are returning Italians who have been summoned home."

The alternative, apparently, was to stay at Lausanne and starve, since what possible adjustments could be made in such a situation were not, at the moment, in anywise evident. Then, an idea occurred to me. I said to the old

fellow, "What is that first-class railway carriage up there, with the sign on it marked 'Reserved'?"

"Oh," he said, "that is the carriage that the public officials use when they go about."

"Who is using it now?"

"Nobody."

"Very well," I said, "let's loosen the brake and bring it down the track."

"What for?" he said.

"I shall show you," was my reply.

So we brought it down the track and he helped me put our trunks into the luggage compartment at its rear end.

"That will not help you any," he said.

My reply was to inquire when the next train with returning Italians was expected to leave.

He said, "According to my information, it is going at eight-twenty this morning."

With this information in hand, I went back to the hotel, got my party together and returned to the station in order to put them into this first-class carriage which was standing on the side-track. At about eight-fifteen the train pulled in southbound and I stepped up to the conductor, saluted and said in my most official French, "This is the special reserved car that you had instructions to take back with you to Milan." He touched his hat politely, backed his train up to the reserved car and in five minutes we were headed toward Montreux and then south up the Rhone Valley, through the Simplon tunnel and back to Milan. It was a long, hot and tiresome journey, with crowds of Italians mounting the train at every stop and a tremendous fuss when the frontier was reached at Domo d'Ossola. By six o'clock on that evening, which was Monday, August 3, we were back at the Hotel Cavour in Milan. What a change there was! The hotel which had

been empty on Saturday night was crowded on Monday night, chiefly with Americans who had come down from points in Switzerland and the Italian mountains, as the news grew steadily worse. We can never be grateful enough to the manager of that hotel for his generous kindness and helpfulness. When our party reached Milan, I was the proud possessor of the equivalent of twenty-seven cents in Italian currency. I had only that twenty-seven cents until August 24, when I reached New York, and yet lived in the lap of luxury all the intervening days and took part in chartering a trans-Atlantic steamer and in bringing home four hundred of my fellow Americans. One member of our party was able to draw ten dollars each day on his letter of credit and that helped us greatly in the matter of small incidental payments. The manager of the Hotel Cavour simply said, "You do not need any money." And he not only postponed payment of our hotel bill, but furnished the funds with which to buy tickets for the trip to Genoa on Wednesday, August 5, and telephoned to the manager of the Hotel Eden in Genoa, to have him make the same financial arrangement there that he himself had made in Milan. Moreover, both the manager of the Hotel Cavour in Milan and the manager of the Hotel Eden in Genoa said that if I knew any of the Americans who were in those cities and would introduce them, they would extend credit to them in the same fashion. Of course, all this was possible only because some of our group were well known and that it included Mr. Frederick W. Vanderbilt, whose name was itself a tower of strength to us. Nevertheless, it was a very fine thing to do and these men were repaid not only in money, but what is still more important, in grateful appreciation and thankfulness.

Having reached Genoa, the next step was to find out

where to go from there. The American Consul was beside himself with excitement and worry. He had several hundred Americans on his hands, rapidly increasing in number and all asking for money or for help to get home. There was nothing that he could do and he told us that his cables to the State Department remained unanswered, which is quite in accordance with the precedents long set by that branch of our governmental organization. Therefore, those of us who were private citizens had to do something. By great good fortune, there turned up at the hotel in Genoa, R. A. C. Smith of New York, one of the best and most experienced of our American shipping men; Frederick W. Vanderbilt, who came down from Switzerland; Gano Dunn, the distinguished engineer; and a few other men of prominence who drifted in during the days that we were at work in trying to find a way to get home. In conference, Mr. Smith, Mr. Vanderbilt, Mr. Dunn and myself quickly came to the conclusion that there was no way to get home save to charter a ship, and that required money. None of us had any money and none of us could get any money. Nevertheless, we went out in the harbor in a rowboat and inspected the vessels at anchor there. Mr. Smith quickly selected the one which he said was the best for our purpose. It was the *Principe di Udine* of the Lloyd Sabaudo Line, a ship of about 8000 tons, which ran regularly on the service to Buenos Aires and, having just returned, was about to be laid up for a few weeks of overhauling and cleaning. Smith and I went at once to the office of the Lloyd Sabaudo, asked for a meeting with the Director and his Executive Committee and inquired whether we could charter the *Principe di Udine* for a voyage to New York, leaving at the earliest possible date, and at what cost. After conference among themselves and some discussion, during which it was intimated

that they did not think the ship should go to sea again until she had been overhauled and cleaned, they agreed to let us have it for the trip to America for 400,000 lire. We promptly signed the contract on these terms, the amount being payable on Monday, August 10, at noon. Not having any money and not being able to get any, the charter price was largely a matter of indifference. I think, as a matter of fact, we would have signed the contract just the same if 4,000,000 lire had been asked. Within an hour or two we found that there was a misunderstanding between ourselves and the Lloyd Sabaudo Executive Committee. They had supposed that we were only chartering the first-cabin accommodations and that we would comply with the regulations under which their Atlantic service was conducted and would call both at Naples and at Palermo for steerage passengers. We told them that this was absolutely impossible, that we intended to sail straight from Genoa to New York by the shortest route and that we wished none on board but American citizens, save the officers and crew of the vessel itself. We did not propose, if we could help it, to get into any new complications growing out of the war conditions which had now come to prevail. There was further consideration of the whole matter and, finally, the charter price on these terms was raised to 500,000 lire, to which we promptly agreed.

Two important matters remained to be settled—first, how were we to get the money to make the payment which became due on the following Monday at noon; and, second, how were we to choose from the hundreds of clamoring Americans those whom we should take with us on this ship? In order to answer the first question, R. A. C. Smith and I proceeded on independent but parallel lines. I went to the office of the Banca Commerciale Italiana and

asked the manager what American banks or trading companies had an account there and what their balances were. These questions led to a long and angry dispute, during which the manager informed me that the information I desired was necessarily confidential, that he could not and would not give it to me and that I should not have asked for it. My response was that this was war, that I had to ascertain these facts and that I would not leave the bank until I had learned them. He went off and was gone about an hour. When he came back, he very crossly told me what large American concerns had a credit at the bank and in round numbers what those credits amounted to. I thanked him and replied that that was all I wanted to know. He answered, with a sneer: "That information will do you no good. Our banks are all under restriction by the government and you will not be permitted to draw out anything approaching that sum." To this, my answer was that I did not want to draw it out. It could stay in the bank, but what I proposed to do was to get it transferred temporarily to the credit of the Lloyd Sabaudo Company, so that the terms of our contract would be met. Meanwhile, Smith was cabling the Guaranty Trust Company and was on tenterhooks because his earliest cable was not delivered and it took forty-eight hours to get an answer. Finally, however, as the result of our joint and several efforts, we were in possession in Genoa, despite war conditions, of sufficient credit to meet the terms of the contract with the Lloyd Sabaudo Company without the transfer of any cash whatsoever. Here too, we were placed under the deepest obligations to the managers of the Lloyd Sabaudo Company, for Smith's cable from the Guaranty Trust Company stated that the credit would be given in Genoa, through London. Immediately, the Genoa bank demanded confirmation from London which was

quite as impossible as confirmation from the North Pole. After conference, the managers of the Lloyd Sabaudo stated that since they were building a vessel on the Tyne and would have considerable payments to make in England in the near future, they would accept the Guaranty Trust Company's cable as satisfactory evidence that the credit had been established in London. Under all the circumstances that prevailed, this was a very fine and large-minded thing to do. Had it not been done, we could not have gone forward with our sailing.

The next step was to select those whom we could take with us on the ship. This was no easy matter. We found that by crowding the dining saloon we could seat two hundred persons and, therefore, we proposed to take four hundred and have two services of luncheon and dinner. Since, of course, we had no office or bureau of any kind in Genoa, we persuaded a contractor who was putting up a new building to let us use the second floor of his uncompleted structure for a few days as our headquarters. There we assembled and spent hour after hour in choosing the four hundred who were to go by the *Principe di Udine*. We gave preference to those who were alone, to those who were older and to those who, for some good reason, were entitled to special consideration. It was a difficult job, but was well managed by R. A. C. Smith, Gano Dunn and Henry S. Haskell of the Carnegie Endowment staff, who had come down from Switzerland to join us. We arbitrarily fixed the rates for passage at \$250 first cabin, \$150 second cabin, and \$75 between decks. As a matter of fact the accommodations between decks were in many ways the most satisfactory, apart from their lack of privacy. Since the ship was fifty-five feet wide and both portholes and hatches were all kept open throughout the voyage, there was plenty of air for that group of pas-

sengers. The men between decks were all placed forward and the women aft. In order that we might carry as many first-cabin passengers as possible, often putting three in a room, we assigned all the men to the starboard side of the ship and all the women to the port side. There were only four exceptions where man and wife were placed in two-berth rooms, because of special circumstances arising from their health or their age. In this way we were able to care, with reasonable comfort, for the largest possible number of passengers.

Moreover, we accepted in payment of passage money any form of financial credential which our fellow passengers happened to offer. Letters of credit, American Express Company notes (which at the moment could only be cashed in very limited amounts), personal checks on American banks, and in one case a simple I.O.U., were taken in payment of passage money. It is of some interest to record the fact that of the 399 passengers, not more than twenty or twenty-five were known to any of us personally, and that they came from thirty-seven states. Nevertheless, thirty days after all this miscellaneous collection of checks and drafts had been placed in the hands of the Guaranty Trust Company for collection, we were notified that every single piece had been redeemed at its face value. The passage money fell far short of meeting the cost of chartering and equipping the vessel, but that is another matter.

The health of the passengers was, of course, a primary consideration. By great good fortune, there were in Genoa, seeking opportunity for return to the United States, four outstanding physicians, one of whom had been of high rank in the United States Navy. On learning this, we told the Lloyd Sabaudo people that if their surgeon would look after the staff of the ship, we would look after the

passengers. We made an infirmary out of three or four well-placed rooms and Doctor John C. Boyd, who had just been retired after nearly forty years of service in the Medical Corps of the United States Navy, saw that it was properly equipped and that adequate instruments and medicines were provided—all this again on credit. As luck would have it, we found in Genoa a young woman who had been trained as a nurse in one of the best New York hospitals and, since she had her nurse's uniform with her, we offered her free transportation if she would be our ship's nurse. Similarly, we came upon a young woman from Indiana who was alone, desperately anxious to return home, and who served in the same way as our stenographer and clerk.

All sorts and kinds of obstacles were put in our way before we sailed. We were told that the Italian Emigration Officer thought we were violating the statutes of Italy. We were told that the Italian Health Officer would not give us a certificate to sail. Finally, we were told that the British had blockaded the Straits of Gibraltar and that we should have to come back, not being allowed to go out into the Atlantic. Fortunately, one of our number who had a close friend highly placed in the British admiralty sent him a message describing our plans and hopes, and intimating that any advice as to how to meet unforeseen emergencies would be most helpful. Within forty-eight hours there were received by us in Genoa, through a personal visit of someone who was attached either to the British Embassy at Rome or to the British Consulate at Genoa, some helpful advice and a password which we might use if challenged by any British naval vessel. This brought us great comfort.

We received all these admonitions and prophecies with stolid unconcern and went forward with our plans to sail

on Wednesday, August 12, precisely at noon. At that very moment, the ship's whistle blew and we put out to sea on the voyage of a refugee ship. We did not draw a long breath until we were outside the three-mile limit, because we did not know what fresh obstacles might be found and put in our way. Once outside the three-mile limit, we bade farewell to all our woes and after a week of sleeplessness and nervous strain, settled down to comparative quiet and rest.

All went well without incident until early on Saturday evening, the 15th, when we approached Gibraltar. Daylight was fading and as we came up to the Rock, our ship answered promptly the electric signals which were made from shore. Suddenly, and without a word of warning, a bright flashlight fell upon the bridge where I was standing with the captain, and below us on the port side, quite close at hand, was a British destroyer. A young officer in pea jacket called to us through a megaphone, "And who are you?" "Since our captain spoke no English, it was my duty to reply. "The Italian ship *Principe di Udine*," I said, "chartered by a company of returning Americans and entitled to use the password —" which I gave him. "Follow me through the straits," was his reply.

For more than an hour we wound in and out through the heavily mined Straits of Gibraltar, following our destroyer guide. The mines appeared to cover a distance of several miles. Finally, when we had passed out into the Atlantic, the young British officer, again throwing his light on the bridge, said, "Bon voyage," and vanished into darkness.

Our captain, who had never made the voyage to New York, then offered a very helpful suggestion. It was that instead of taking us west by the ordinary route, he should follow parallel thirty-seven. He remarked that our pas-

sengers were nervous and excited and many of them unwell, and that on thirty-seven we should find the sea quieter and smoother and meet with fewer vessels than by taking the ordinary route, which would carry us up as high as forty-one. Of course, his advice was taken, with excellent results.

An exciting incident occurred on Thursday afternoon, August 20. Sometime after luncheon I was summoned to the bridge, where the captain was looking out through his glass over the stern on the starboard side. He said to me, with some concern: "We are being followed. There is a vessel overtaking us." My reply was, "That seems impossible. We are going at fifteen or sixteen knots and you have been of the opinion that there was no faster vessel than that in these particular waters."

"Nevertheless," he replied, "she is faster than we are and she is catching us."

In a short time this fact became evident to the naked eye and we were not a little concerned. Soon our passengers on the main deck discovered what was happening and not a few of them became hysterical, since their first thought was of capture by a German naval vessel with the prospect of spending some time in a German prison. In a few moments the second officer, who was on the upper bridge in charge of the ship during that watch, came down bringing with him a code signal which had just been received from the vessel that was following us. When we looked up its meaning in the code book, we discovered it meant *Fermate immediatamente*. There was nothing to do but stop at once, which we did, and rapidly the following vessel came nearer. She would answer none of our inquiries and we were completely at a loss to know what sort of ship it might be. The second officer was convinced that it was a Cunarder, but the rest of us scoffed

at this notion, since it seemed quite impossible that a Cunarder could be down in those waters in so short a time after the outbreak of war. In a few moments, however, when she had come within two miles of us she broke out the British admiralty flag and we saw in a moment that it was the Cunard S.S. *Caronia*, armed and crowded with British naval reserve men. The second officer was right. It was new evidence of the tremendous efficiency of the British navy, that this merchant vessel had been so speedily adapted and equipped for patrol work and was already down in that section of the Atlantic in little more than two weeks after war had broken out. The moment that we told our story, the *Caronia* turned on her course and left us in peace.

On the following day we sighted what appeared to be another British patrol vessel, and in our eagerness to avoid either examination or detention we promptly sent to her by radio a statement of the circumstances under which we were making the voyage, of course giving the name of our vessel. We were rather amused to receive back the curt reply: "We know who you are. Bon voyage."

The next incident was the very heartening one of sighting Fire Island Light about nine o'clock on Sunday night, the twenty-third. At Quarantine the following morning we were all eagerness to know the news and whether the world was still in existence or not. During the voyage we had received only the barest information by radio and all this had been carefully scanned by Gano Dunn before being posted for the information of passengers, to the end that nothing might be done to increase their alarm and disquiet. One intercepted message which reached us was from Cardinal Merry del Val in Rome to his family in Spain, announcing the death of Pope Pius X.

We soon reached the pier which had been arranged for

us by R. A. C. Smith, and it may well be believed that a sigh of relief was heaved when the gangplank went down and we found ourselves safely on a New York dock. It was nearly noon, August 24, just twelve days after the sailing of the ship from Genoa.

The company that came with us contained some very interesting and important Americans. We had among our fellow passengers, former Mayor George B. McClellan of New York, and his wife; General S. E. Tillman, formerly Commandant at West Point, and his wife; our American Minister to China, Mr. Paul S. Reinsch of Wisconsin, and his wife; Jacob G. Schmidlapp of Cincinnati; Mr. and Mrs. John S. Sheppard of New York; Professor and Mrs. Henry S. Munroe of Columbia University; Professor and Mrs. William R. Newbold of the University of Pennsylvania; Doctor and Mrs. Stewart Paton, then of Princeton, N. J.; Mr. and Mrs. Theodore W. Noyes of Washington, D. C.; Mr. and Mrs. Horace E. Andrews of New York; Doctor W. O. Bartlett of Boston; Park Benjamin of New York; Professor and Mrs. Eugene Byrne, then of the University of Wisconsin; and numerous others almost as well known.

When we landed on the dock in New York on Monday, August 24, that capital sum of twenty-seven cents, established on Monday, August 3, was unimpaired. Nevertheless, we had learned something of what war does to the processes of an orderly and peaceful civilization.

## VI

### THERE IS A HISTORY IN ALL MEN'S LIVES

Shakespeare—*King Henry IV*

### ENGLAND

SIR EVELYN WOOD ON KITCHENER

THE publication of Lord Esher's book on Lord Kitchener, and the controversy that it aroused, recalled a very amusing incident.

A number of years ago, probably thirty or more, I was in London when Lord Kitchener was the guest of honor at a great public banquet. He had, as I recall, just returned from some important undertaking in South Africa, and the banquet was to celebrate his personality and accomplishments. My place was at the head table, and one of my neighbors was the distinguished Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, then, I think, retired from active service. He did not know me, and therefore I made the first move toward conversation. What followed ran something like this:

“This is a most distinguished company.”

“It is a most distinguished company,” replied Sir Evelyn Wood.

“I suppose that Lord Kitchener is a very great soldier.”

“Kitchener a great soldier! Not at all!”

After a short pause I returned to the attack:

"I have always understood that Lord Kitchener was very able as an organizer of everything that relates to an army's transportation and supplies."

"Kitchener! Able as an organizer! Not at all!"

This was discouraging, but after a brief interval I tried again:

"I have always understood that Lord Kitchener was very successful with his dealings with the natives in Africa."

"Kitchener successful in his dealings with the natives! Not at all!"

After that, feeling pretty much discouraged, I said:

"Well, then, one wonders why he is receiving the distinguished honor of this most notable banquet."

"God only knows," replied the Field Marshal grimly.

We changed the subject and then had a very agreeable evening together.

#### FROM LORD ROSEBERY TO BRANDER MATTHEWS

In his very striking address delivered at the University of St. Andrews in 1911 at the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of its foundation, Lord Rosebery, who was Rector at the time, used a phrase which fastened itself in my memory. He said in substance that at the time St. Andrews was founded, Scotland, while problematically pious, was indubitably drunk.

At the reception which followed the academic commemoration, I asked Lord Rosebery whether that phrase was original with him or whether he had quoted it. He replied that he was pretty sure that he had quoted it but could not say at the moment where it came from. Later he wrote me that, while perfectly certain it was a quota-

tion, he was unable to trace its origin. For several years after that I made every endeavor, both in England and in the United States, to find where this remarkable phrase came from. They could not tell me at the Bodleian or at the British Museum or at the London library, while no one in America whom I consulted had ever heard of it.

One day nearly fifteen years after I had first heard the remark, I spoke of it to Brander Matthews. He told me that he had a notion that he could lay his hands on the information of which I was in search. A few days later he brought from his own library and presented to me a volume entitled *Nicholas's Notes and Sporting Prophecies* by the late J. W. Prowse, edited by Tom Hood. The title page showed that it was published in London by George Routledge and Sons, The Broadway, Ludgate, but no date was anywhere apparent in the volume. In this odd and certainly very rare little book, at the foot of page four, is reference to a rough copy of verses made for the *Aylesbury News* by Prowse, who was born in 1836 at Torquay in Devonshire. This rough copy was made about 1855 and was entitled "King Clicquot." It wound up with this couplet:

His courtiers found him out at last beneath the table sunk,  
Problemsatically pious, but indubitably drunk.<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, was the origin of this very striking phrase used by Lord Rosebery on a great academic occasion and found in New York by Brander Matthews in an inconspicuous footnote to an almost unknown book. Few happenings could illustrate more convincingly Brander Matthews' habit of wide reading and his amazingly retentive

<sup>1</sup>See also Alfred H. Miles, *The Poets and Poetry of the Nineteenth Century*: Vol. X, *Humor* (London: Routledge, 1905-1907. First edition, 1891), p. 492.

memory. Of course, I at once wrote to Lord Rosebery that I had found his phrase and gave him the reference. He was as happy to get it as he was surprised at my story of how it was found.

#### ANDREW LANG AT TABLE

Andrew Lang was held in profound respect by most of the University community at St. Andrews. But I once found one man there who told the following story which reflects pretty severely upon Mr. Lang's manners.

It appears that Andrew Lang was placed at dinner on one occasion next to a somewhat talkative American woman who was very anxious to engage him in conversation. "I am glad to see," said Mr. Lang's neighbor at the table, "that you have just published another book." To this observation Mr. Lang made no reply, but went on with his meal. "I see that your book is on the subject of poetry—I wish greatly to read it." Lang said nothing. After a brief pause, the woman began again. "I should like very much to know what your opinion is of Tennyson," she said. To which Mr. Lang replied, with bland courtesy, "Pray, eat your dinner, madam."

#### LORD HALDANE

After I met Haldane in 1905, we quickly became warm friends. We had many intellectual interests in common, and I gained much from my talks and my correspondence with him. When, in 1906, he was appointed to be Secretary of State for War in the new Liberal Cabinet of which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was the head, I wrote him a note of congratulation on the honor which he had received, but expressed surprise that a philosopher of his importance could by any possibility have knowledge of army organization and army policy. I thought that a

philosopher in the War Office was rather incongruous. When I met Haldane in London in the summer following, he said that I need not be disturbed about a philosopher in the War Office since all that he had to do was to read the five annual reports of Elihu Root as Secretary of War in the Cabinets of Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. "Those reports," said Haldane, "are the last word on the organization and use of an army in a peace-loving democracy. I have nothing to do but follow their counsels." As a matter of fact, Haldane administered the War Office exceedingly well, and I never heard anything but praise of his public service in that post.

In 1912, my wife and I dined with Haldane, who since I had last seen him had been transferred from the War Office to the Woolsack. He was now Lord Haldane of Cloan. He was in the best of health and spirits and had brought together a delightful company, including Viscountess Gladstone, who had much that was interesting to tell regarding her experiences in South Africa. After dinner Haldane and I had a little chat together and we made a perfectly characteristic Haldane appointment for eleven o'clock the following evening. He was to dine with Grey, and I was dining with Hirst, the editor of *The Economist*, at his house out on Campden Hill. Just as Big Ben struck eleven, Haldane and I met face to face before his house at Queen Anne's Gate, he having come from the Foreign Office and I from the West End. We at once went into his library and settled down for a genuine old-fashioned talk. It was nearly two o'clock in the morning when I left him and walked across the park to the Berkeley Hotel. Our talk began with a full and intimate discussion of the relations between Germany and England, and the policies which were at the moment giving concern. We rehearsed the troubled summer of 1911, and

Haldane went so far as to say that his famous visit to Berlin in the winter had been suggested and made successful by reason of the wide circulation throughout Germany, in a German translation, of his Oxford address on Germany and Great Britain. This had been done by the *International Conciliation*, and we were naturally greatly pleased with the good results that followed.

I suggested to him the desirability of having England propose to Germany confidentially something that the diplomats are fond of calling "compensation," to wit: an arrangement by which the African possessions of Portugal, no longer a strong nation, could be acquired by Germany on payment of a reasonable sum of money with the acquiescence of England and France. The possession of this large area of African territory would satisfy German pride and would also offer opportunity for German trade expansion and development in connection with tropical products and with whatever mineral wealth and water power the territory might be found to provide. Haldane said that this seemed to him a very practical suggestion and that there might be something in it. We discussed ways and means of bringing it forward, and he said that he would suggest it to Germany at an early opportunity, with a view to seeing what might be possible and practicable. My notion was that Portugal would rather have Germany's money than this African territory, while for both sentimental and practical reasons new territory was what Germany most wished at the moment. That "place in the sun" that the Germans were talking and writing about was the object of immediate national ambition. Haldane agreed with me absolutely in the belief that the German Emperor himself was the main obstacle to the development of an aggressive attitude on the part of Germany, as he was far in advance of the mind of his

own people in all which had to do with international peace and the true conditions that underlie economic development and national well-being. Haldane said that he had been delightfully treated in Berlin, and that both the Emperor and Bethmann-Hollweg had been most cordial and frank.

Haldane then passed on to his new work as Lord Chancellor, and told in a most interesting way what he was trying to accomplish and how. He held very strongly the view, which I believed to be a sound one, that the binding together of the British Empire and the bringing about of a closer imperial unity were to be accomplished chiefly and first of all through an imperial supreme court, by the exercise of the judicial power. Haldane said that he was proposing to set aside the month of July in each year for the hearing of appeals from the Dominion of Canada. His notion was that at that time the leading barristers and statesmen of Canada would come to London, to appear before the judiciary committee of the Privy Council, and that they would thus be brought in close touch with the judicial arm of the British nation and with its political activities as well. He had it in mind to set aside another month for appeals from the Commonwealth of Australia and from New Zealand. He instanced one or two cases then pending which gave opportunity, because of the form of their several issues, to render decisions which would help unify the law of the Empire and set a common standard of right and wrong action and procedure. We talked about all this for a long time, as it was a fascinating topic and one that was almost infinite in its suggestiveness. Altogether it was an evening as memorable as it was delightful.

In talking to Haldane one always felt the presence and effect of his philosophic training. He thought and acted

in terms of general principles, and it is just this in which the philosophic mind differs from the "catch-as-catch-can" habit of speech and action.

#### HALDANE'S VISIT TO BERLIN, 1906

During one of my earliest visits to the Kaiser at Wilhelmshöhe, he expressed a feeling of disappointment and something more that no member of the British government ever visited Berlin. He pointed out that members of the Cabinet frequently went to Paris, to Geneva, to Vienna and to Rome, and that they were constantly to be found at Vichy, at Aix, at Carlsbad and elsewhere on the Continent. Yet no one of them ever came to Berlin, even for some important happening or anniversary. The Kaiser spoke of this in a way that impressed me greatly and made me feel that he really felt badly about the matter.

It seemed to me that Haldane was the obvious member of the government to visit Berlin, since he knew Germany and the Germans intimately and spoke the language quite perfectly. Therefore, so soon as I reached London, I went to see Haldane and told him that I had in mind something which I thought important enough to tell to Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Grey and himself. As the London season was over and social engagements were few, Haldane arranged for a dinner at his house on the following evening. Campbell-Bannerman had gone to Marienbad, not being in the best of health, but Asquith and Grey came, and we four dined together to my great pleasure.

When dinner had been served, Haldane said: "Butler, you have something to tell us that you think important. What is it?" I then gave the group the impression which I had gained from listening to the Kaiser speak with so much feeling of the fact that apparently no British min-

ister had ever visited Berlin, a fact which he interpreted as a slight to himself. No sooner had I finished my brief statement than Asquith, speaking with his accustomed clearness and simplicity of language, said: "But the Kaiser is perfectly right. We are simply stupid. We had no intention to slight him in any way. We never thought of the matter. Of course a member of the Cabinet must go to Berlin and quickly. Haldane, you speak German; you are the man to go."

That is all there was to the first Haldane visit to Berlin, of which so much was made in the press both on the Continent and in Great Britain. All that Haldane himself said about this most important visit was:

In 1906, whilst War Minister, I paid, on the invitation of the German Emperor, a visit to him at Berlin, to which city I went on after previously staying with King Edward at Marienbad, where he and the then Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, were resting.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE KING IN ENGLAND

In an after-dinner chat at the home of Clarence H. Mackay, on the evening of Saturday, February 3, 1923, Sir Robert Horne, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the last Cabinet of Lloyd George, now Lord Horne, told an intensely interesting anecdote to illustrate the reserve power which the King still has in the government and public life of England.

Sir Robert said that in March, 1919, at a time when he was Minister of Labour, there was great industrial unrest and agitation throughout Great Britain. The soldiers had returned from the Continent under the strong influence of the war psychosis. Large numbers found that

<sup>1</sup>Viscount Haldane, *Before the War* (London: Cassell and Company, 1920), pp. 22-23.

their places in the industrial life of the nation had been filled by others and that they were faced by unemployment, poverty and want. The example of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was strong, and there were many voices among the laboring men and their leaders raised in favor of imitating the Russian example.

During the month of March, 1919, Sir Robert Horne was made aware by his confidential advisers of the dangerous condition that existed. One day a large employer of labor who kept himself exceptionally well informed called on Sir Robert to say that, unless some favorable happening should occur without delay, there would be a Bolshevik revolution in Great Britain before the week was out. Sir Robert quickly confirmed this alarming information by appeal to several sources. He asked this particular adviser, who had brought the ill news, what he thought could be done. The other promptly replied that there was only one thing left, namely, for the King to summon to Buckingham Palace for conference a most violent and extreme leader of the labor movement, whose name was given. Sir Robert pointed out the danger of this course, indicating that, if the labor leader chose, he might make a powerful appeal to public opinion against what he would describe as an attempt to browbeat him on a matter of public policy by the use of the King's name and influence. In that case, Sir Robert pointed out, the situation would be worse rather than better. His adviser, however, took the belief that there was nothing else to be done, and that the course proposed must be taken, and taken without delay, at whatever risk. Sir Robert then quickly made the necessary arrangements and on the following day the labor leader in question appeared at Buckingham Palace in answer to a royal summons.

He spent an hour in private and confidential conference

with the King. It so happened that the King made a habit of informing himself as to current radical literature and opinions of all kinds and that he was quite familiar with the point of view and the arguments of his visitor. In addition, his royal memory stood him in good stead, for he recalled having met this particular man and shaking hands with him on the occasion of a royal visit to the munition works at Newcastle during the war. The upshot of the matter was that the visitor was so enormously impressed by the King's knowledge of labor matters and his sympathy with the situation in which many laboring men found themselves, that he came away with quite altered views. Before leaving the Palace, the labor leader was invited to the apartment of the Prince of Wales, with whom he smoked a cigarette and chatted for half an hour.

He went away with a wholly different idea of royalty and its relation to the people, and from being an active fomenter of the Bolshevik revolution, became a quiet and constructive labor leader bent upon improving the economic situation of his fellows by constitutional and orderly means.

The cloud of danger had lifted and the threatened Bolshevik revolution did not take place. As Sir Robert Horne justly pointed out, this incident shows what potential values still remain in the English kingship and how it may in times of crisis be revealed and used to the great advantage of the people.

#### SIR GEORGE LEVESON-GOWER

The following is an extract from a letter written to me under date of December 27, 1925, from Earlham Hall Farm, Norwich, England, by Sir George Leveson-Gower:

"Do you remember the story of one of the Eliots, who was Ambassador at Berlin during the Seven Years' War?

Frederick sneered at some reference made in the Speech from the Throne to the divine aid which had given the Allies certain victories. 'So, Your Excellency, it seems that King George reckons the Deity amongst his Allies. I hope that he will find that He will continue to render us useful assistance.'

"'At any rate, Sir,' answered Eliot, 'He is the only one of our Allies whom we don't have to pay!'"

#### WHISTLER AND DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI

While engaged upon my portrait at President's House in 1927, Sir John Lavery told a most interesting and characteristic anecdote of Whistler. He said that on one occasion he was together with Swinburne and Whistler when the conversation turned upon Dante Gabriel Rossetti. "I understand that Rossetti is a really great artist," said Swinburne. "Artist?" replied Whistler sharply. "I thought that man was a poet."

#### ROBERT SOUTHEY

This story came to me from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, the Master of Downing College, Doctor A. C. Seward, in a letter written in 1927. It was apropos of my address on "The Lost Art of Thinking" which the Vice-Chancellor had just read.

A Quaker was told by Southey how he divided his time —what he did in this hour and that and so on through the day and far into the night. The Quaker listened intently and at the close of Southey's remarks said: "Well, but friend Southey, when dost thee think?"

#### LORD RENNELL OF RODD

Sir Rennell Rodd, now Lord Rennell of Rodd, who declined to be driven home after dining out one night in

New York, gave as his reason that he found it promoted health and good digestion to walk home after dinner. He said he had obtained this counsel from the Earl of Balfour, who in turn said he had it from Robert Browning, while Robert Browning traced it back to Samuel Butler, the author of *Erewhon*. So at all events, the habit has distinguished authority.

#### AN EXPERIENCE OF THE DUKE OF ATHOLL

The Duke of Atholl, who dined with us at President's House on the evening of April 6, 1928, together with the Duchess and their charming niece, Miss Ursula Morley-Fletcher, a few hours before the Duchess sailed for England by the S.S. *Olympic*, told this intensely interesting anecdote.

He said that on that very day, nearly thirty years after the event occurred, he had received a letter from two Sudanese ladies in Khartoum who sent him some bead-work of their own making in recognition of his generous kindness in rescuing a young Sudanese girl in the desert after the battle of Omdurman. The Duke said that the detachment of troops with which he was then serving had become separated from their camel corps because of hasty pursuit of the Sudanese. To their alarm, they found themselves far out on the desert, with no food and no water. They had concluded that they must die of starvation or thirst within the next day or two. As the Duke lay down to sleep on the desert, he saw an odd-looking black patch on the side of a sand hill some little distance off. Curiosity prompted him to go to it, and there he found a young Sudanese girl, herself dying of starvation and thirst. The Duke had only a few biscuits and a very small bottle of water, the contents of which were rapidly evaporating under the heat of the tropics. He divided his last

four biscuits with the young Sudanese girl and measured out for her six drops of water from his bottle. He remarked that this was not so philanthropic as it sounded, because he had made up his mind that they must all die anyhow and therefore what he was giving to the young girl could make no very great difference.

During the night, the camel corps with its relief unexpectedly arrived, and the young girl was seen sleeping at the Duke of Atholl's feet. Furnished with food and water, they took up their march afresh, when the Duke found that, according to all the laws of the desert, the young Sudanese woman had become his wife. He said he was terribly embarrassed as he had not supposed that, when he asked the young girl to accompany the troops to a place of safety, that act was equivalent to making her his wife. Moreover, he was at that moment engaged to be married to the present Duchess. Complications ensued, which were finally resolved by sending the young Sudanese girl off with some of her own people.

The Duke added that he had not the least notion that either the young Sudanese girl herself or any of her people knew who he was or what might be his station in life. He was then the Marquess of Tullibardine. His perplexity, therefore, and his astonishment were very great when out of a clear sky, thirty years afterward, came this letter and this reminiscent gift from Khartoum.

#### LORD BEAUCHAMP

Earl Beauchamp, who visited us in New York in 1931, is responsible for two most interesting anecdotes:

Being about to make a speech recently in which he wished to refer to the famous inscription in St. Paul's Cathedral in memory of Sir Christopher Wren, Lord Beauchamp wrote to ask Dean Inge whether that inscrip-

tion—*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*—was original or whether it had been used earlier elsewhere. Dean Inge made the characteristic response that so far as he knew, it was entirely original and had not been used even by any physician who lay buried there, surrounded by the graves of his patients.

The second story was this:

The Earl of Rosebery had never met Bonar Law and had a very poor opinion of his abilities and public service. When Bonar Law died it was urged that he be buried in Westminster Abbey. This fact having been brought to the attention of Lord Rosebery, he sarcastically remarked that he supposed that the spot of his burial would be known as "the grave of the unknown Prime Minister."

#### SIR JOHN SIMON

When Sir John was visiting us at Southampton, Long Island, over the last week-end of August, 1930, he told the following very amusing story of Lord Curzon:

It was at a most desperate period in the progress of the Great War when Lord Curzon was Foreign Secretary and Sir John Simon Home Secretary in the Coalition Ministry of Lloyd George. One day when every mind was bent on the war and its details, Sir John Simon was astounded to receive from Lord Curzon a note written in his own hand saying that a Jewish shopkeeper on Tottenham Court Road had changed his name from Cohen to Curzon and had put the latter name on his sign. The letter ended with the query: "Can nothing be done about it?"

Sir John quickly penned a reply saying that the only suggestion he had to make to relieve the situation was that Curzon should change his name to Cohen.

Sir John said that, when his evening mail was brought

to him by his secretary before posting, that wise and helpful person suggested that he look this letter over before sending it. Sir John did this and decided that on the whole it would be better not to send the letter.

#### CLARE COLLEGE

While visiting Clare College, Cambridge, in 1932, I was told this amusing anecdote of a former Master:

When complaint was made that the College contained no provision for bath rooms for resident students, the Master retorted: "Why should we go to that trouble and expense? The students are never here for more than six weeks at a time."

#### MORLEY ON MEREDITH

One day in July, 1912, we motored down to Wimbledon and had luncheon with Morley and Lady Morley at Flowermead. He had one or two interesting people to meet us, chief among them being Montague, the Under Secretary for India, who was planning shortly to set out for a visit to India.

Morley's talk, as usual, was of the very best. He got on to the subject of George Meredith, and was very funny in telling how much he thought of him and how greatly he had enjoyed his letters, but how little he was able to read his novels. The letters, by the way, were to have been edited by Morley himself, but when the time came the pressure of his public duties as a member of the government compelled him to give up the task.

Montague was full of questions about the Republican National Convention of 1912, and expressed the keenest interest in a political gathering of that sort. He said that the next time one was to be held he proposed to journey to America to sit in the gallery and follow it all.

## MORLEY ON KITCHENER

With reference to a letter addressed to the London *Spectator* for July 11, 1925, signed by Lovat Fraser, with the caption "Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener" and printed on page fifty-five of that issue, it is interesting to recall that I was in England in 1910 and saw a great deal of Lord Morley.

One day I asked Lord Morley what had led to the appointment of Lord Hardinge to be Viceroy of India and what were his particular qualifications. Morley answered, "His principal qualification was that it enabled us not to send Kitchener."

## JOHN MORLEY AT HIS BEST

When John Morley was conversing freely and intimately, he was wholly unequalled in the charm and wisdom of his remarks. He had a wide and close acquaintance with the intellectual leaders of Great Britain, and his judgments regarding them were singularly just even when critical. On November 17, 1904, he dined with me in New York, the other guests being Brander Matthews, Richard Watson Gilder, Albert Shaw, Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Charles C. Burlingham and the Reverend Thomas R. Slicer.

The conversation turned on Oxford, and Morley began to discourse in characteristic fashion about Lincoln College and Mark Pattison and his recently published memoirs. "Pattison had an extraordinary defect of character," said Morley. "When he was defeated for the rectorship of Lincoln [in 1851], he was in despair. Instead of going to work as he should have done, he resigned himself completely to despair. At that time, things were in a very low state at Lincoln, and Pattison was justified in his feel-

ings about conditions there. Pattison," added Morley, with a smile, "was a miser and not merely as to money. If he had a herring for breakfast and ate only half of it, he would save the other half."

Gilder then asked Morley whether Mr. Gladstone prepared his speeches and his eloquent perorations or whether they were extemporaneous. "I found among his papers," replied Morley, "a dozen or a score of notes of speeches which he made. He had wonderful *fecundia, copia verborum*. His words came without effort, but you must remember that he became a great speaker through debate. He was always thinking, 'How shall I answer that statement?' Sometimes one would find him asleep in the House, but he would rouse himself suddenly and you could see at once that he was thinking how to crush his opponent."

Something was said of the range of Gladstone's knowledge, and Morley replied: "He really knew no subject except finance. Gladstone was a man with whom no one was really intimate," said Morley. "I myself did not know him well until 1886. He was an isolated personality. Manning, Hope-Scott and Newman had all influenced him greatly in his early life, but no one else. Gladstone kept a record of everything which he did. He had his diaries from the time he was a boy at Eton, carefully written in very close hand in little, black-covered books."

The conversation then turned to America, and Morley spoke of President Theodore Roosevelt as a true representative of America, confident and rash. Doctor Slicer remarked, "We Americans are a very optimistic people." "But," said Morley, "I should call it not optimism but fatalism."

He asked concerning some books which while in Chicago he had been urged to read, and I told him that he

need not pay any attention to them as they were not literature. "That is just the thing that they must be if they are to live," said Morley.

"I am not so much interested in your problems of the boss and good city government. No doubt, if I were here I should be very much interested in them, but it is the deeper problem which interests me. If I were President of the United States, do you know what I should do? I have been reading Olmsted's book of travels in the Southern States just before the war. I knew Olmsted and I read this book long ago. I recently reread it. It is very like Arthur Young's *Travels in France* just before the Revolution. Now, if I were President, I should get some man like Olmsted to go through the South to write a book or advise me what the situation is today. You all treat it as a purely political problem. It is that, no doubt, but it is something much deeper. It is an economic problem. The question whether the Negro should be allowed to vote or not is a very small question compared with the great economic problem. That is one of the things I am most interested in here. Another underlying problem which interests me greatly is the relation of the Catholic Church to the country as a whole. Is that Church to change its form in a democracy and, if and when changed, is that to affect the Catholic Church in other countries?" We spoke at some length of what the Catholic Church is doing in America, and the conversation turned to the Education Bill passed by the Conservatives at the last session of the Parliament. I said, "Morley, when you Liberals come in at the next election, what are you going to do with the Education Bill—repeal it?" He took hold of the lapel of my coat and said: "Let me tell you a story. When Mr. Gladstone was beaten on his Home Rule Bill, the next night I dined with him and a few others. Browning was

there and Oliver Wendell Holmes, then a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Judge Holmes walked up to Mr. Gladstone and said: 'Now that you have been defeated in the House, Mr. Gladstone, I suppose you will dissolve and not resign.' Browning, who was a great society man and a stickler for etiquette, was horror-stricken, for in all political matters we English are very reserved and a question such as that which Holmes put to the Prime Minister was to Browning almost like a blow in the face. Browning grasped Justice Holmes's arm to restrain him from going any farther, but Gladstone answered, 'I think, Judge Holmes, I shall have to tell that to the House of Commons first.' "

We spoke of Lord Acton's letters to Mrs. Drew and asked whether the friendship between them was really so intimate as it appeared to be or whether the letters were written on account of Acton's admiration for Lord Gladstone. Morley said that he thought it was the latter and that Acton was shooting over Mrs. Drew's head to reach Mr. Gladstone.

In a few moments we turned to James Bryce. "I suppose Bryce," said Morley, "really knows as much as any one living about your country." Burlingham spoke of the personal element in some of Bryce's writings, which did not seem to appear generally in his books. "It is extraordinary," said Morley, "that in the Lives of those Englishmen, all men of public affairs, Bryce has never said one single harsh word. We have been together in Cabinets, in the House of Commons, and I was at Oxford with him. Bryce and Trevelyan were at Oxford together. We were all born in the same year, a long while ago—it was 1838. Although Bryce does not stand quite as high now as he did, his name will live.

"Do you over here in America ever read a man called

Goethe? In England he is forgotten. If he were spoken of in a company like this in England, some one would say, 'Yes, we read him years ago, but no one reads him now.' "

I then asked Morley to repeat to this company a statement he had made a few days earlier as to the four men he had known who had loved truth. "Oh," replied Morley, "that was a secret, but here they are—Darwin, Mill, Stephen, and Henry Sedgwick, but Sedgwick in a different way. Herbert Spencer was a great friend of mine, but I cannot say that he loved truth as these men did, for he first of all loved his formulas. If you talked with John Stuart Mill or Leslie Stephen and stuck a pin in their argument until it collapsed, they gave it up; but Spencer would fight for his formulas."

Morley had been in Chicago on Election Day and went about visiting the polls. The groups that he saw were, he said, very good-natured, and he hoped they would always remain so. With a smile, he told us that he had talked with a judge in Chicago who said he was a Democrat but, as soon as the result of the election was announced, he said that he was very glad that Theodore Roosevelt was successful. Morley added that he read President Theodore Roosevelt's statement after the election and thought it very well done. He could not understand, however, why he should say that he would not serve longer than four years. "That is quite contrary to our English ideas." Gilder remarked that Theodore Roosevelt would go out at the end of this term but would come back four years later. This statement was greeted by a chorus of noes. Morley went on to say that he found it very difficult to think of Theodore Roosevelt giving up office when he would be still under fifty years of age and in his very prime. "That is wholly contrary to our English ideas, but, as I have thought it over since being here, perhaps our politicians

would have done better if they had not had a third term. Gladstone's fame would have been greater if he had retired at the end of his six years in 1874. Disraeli and also Salisbury stayed too long in office. Then there was old Palmerston, but in his case that made absolutely no difference."

One may imagine how fascinated we were by talk of this kind and what an inspiration it was to have Morley, in this perfectly informal fashion, discourse to us on men and things of greatest interest to all of us.

Eight years later when in London I had the good fortune to find Morley in the library at the Athenæum, peacefully taking his tea and crumpets and turning the pages of one of the monthly reviews. We at once got on to our favorite topic—the world's great men and why they were great. He insisted that John Calvin had shown himself possessed of an almost unexampled type of iron will, not only in his personal history, but in his ability to impose upon so large a portion of educated mankind his fundamental philosophical and theological views of the universe. He told me of Haldane's having criticized the list of typical Germans contained in one of Harnack's essays as deficient in that it omitted the name of Hegel. Haldane had said to him that no list of Germans was acceptable which omitted Hegel. I agreed with this absolutely, for Hegel's power of philosophic insight, his capacity for intellectual construction and the range of his genius were all a marvel, to say nothing of the widespread influence of his philosophical teachings both in Germany and out of it.

From this very interesting topic, we drifted over to the world's polymaths, and Morley asked me who was the typical polymath of 1900 to stand beside Bacon in 1600, Leibnitz in 1700 and Goethe in 1800. My answer was that

there could be no polymath in 1900, since the type had become extinct owing to our changed point of view, our altered methods of education and the widespread tendency toward specialization alike in learning and in practical interest. Morley agreed to this and afterwards reproduced very brilliantly the substance of our conversation in a public address which he delivered at the Guild Hall Banquet in honor of the Royal Society.

Morley then told me about a very interesting talk that he had had recently with Sir Edward Grey on the subject of Lincoln. Grey was very anxious to get from Morley all that he knew about Lincoln and to hear details of his personal characteristics as well as anecdotes concerning him.

This was a most memorable conversation and showed Morley at his best. He was full of that bright but rather saturnine humor which characterized him, and his talk abounded in wise and pithy sayings concerning men and things which one was tempted constantly to quote. His every reference to Mr. Gladstone, to whom he quite invariably referred as Mr. G., revealed by its mere tone the respect and admiration, as well as the affection, that Morley had for his old chief.

#### ARTHUR BALFOUR AND LLOYD GEORGE

While lunching in London during May, 1930, with the late Lord Balfour's niece, Mrs. Edward Lascelles, she told this very interesting story of Balfour and Lloyd George.

It appears that the King was very anxious to honor Balfour in all possible ways immediately on his return from the Washington Conference of 1921, in recognition of his great service there. He therefore determined to confer upon him, at the earliest possible moment, both an Earldom and the Order of the Garter. When this fact was communicated to Lloyd George, he was very much piqued

and provoked and flatly told the King that the prerogatives of the Prime Minister were being usurped by him and that he himself must take the initiative. The King stood his ground and insisted upon making the presentations himself direct to Balfour. Lloyd George was equally firm on his side, and a genuine constitutional crisis seemed imminent. Then some ingenious person hit upon the plan of having the King's personal letter to Balfour announcing these distinguished honors handed to him by Lloyd George himself on Balfour's arrival at the station in London, coming from the ship. This course was followed. When the train came in, Balfour stepped out on the platform and was greeted by all sorts of high personalities and friends, at whose head was Lloyd George, who handed him an imposing-looking envelope which, as a matter of fact, contained the King's letter announcing the two great honors. Balfour thrust the letter in his coat pocket and proceeded to converse freely with the welcoming group. He left the station without having looked at the letter and of course without having any notion of its contents. It was only after he reached home that some one asked him what was the purport of the letter which the Prime Minister handed him on the railway platform. For a few minutes the letter could not be found anywhere, but finally it appeared from the pocket of Balfour's overcoat, which had been left in the hall on reaching home. On reading the letter, he found notice of the two very distinguished honors which were his. It almost seems as if the threatened constitutional crisis had been about something very small after all.

#### MY LAST LETTER FROM ARTHUR BALFOUR

Arthur Balfour, then Earl Balfour, died at Fisher's Hill, Woking, on March 19, 1930. His last letter to me and my reply were the following:

Fisher's Hill  
Woking  
December 27, 1929

Dear President:

I have received and read with much pleasure your interesting Christmas card pointing out that the center of human interest is gradually shifting from politics to economics. This seems to me a profound observation and suggests many trains of thought. Whether a world in which all international and political storms are merged in economic disputes will prove to be one in which our Christmas wishes for peace and goodwill towards men will be successfully merged is no doubt arguable. But I greatly hope you will develope your speculations in a more complete form.

With best wishes for the new year

Yours with kindest regards  
Balfour

New York  
January 10, 1930

Rt. Hon. Earl of Balfour  
Fisher's Hill, Woking  
Surrey, England

My dear Lord Balfour:

It was most gracious of you to send me your kindly letter of December 27, and I assure you that I have received and read it with affectionate interest and joy as indicating that your health is steadily improving. John W. Davis, who saw you last summer, is the last of our mutual friends to report upon you personally, but I hope that early in the summer when I am again in England it may not be impossible at least to greet you.

The Christmas card which you are kind enough to comment upon was taken from an address which I made at Southampton, Long Island, on September 1 last, a copy of the text of which I have much pleasure in sending herewith. In that address you will find my argument somewhat more fully elaborated.

Of course, what is in the back of my mind is to correct the excesses of our friends who, in their economic interpretation of history, can see nothing but the gain-seeking instinct and the inevitable conflicts which it brings to pass. My hope is to start our public opinion thinking along a different line, and to indicate that the economic motive, the economic problem and the

economic interests may and should have moral applications and interpretations.

I am proposing to return to this subject from another point of view when I have the honor and pleasure of addressing the Reichstag in Berlin on April 30 next. I am taking as my subject *Die Imponderabilien* and illustrate its meaning by a quotation from Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag in 1888 and another from an essay by our own Emerson.

Of these things I hope we may talk together when I come to London as I expect to do in the early summer. My headquarters there will be as usual the Berkeley Hotel. My present plans are to sail for Naples on March 8 and to go to Berlin after a few weeks in Italy. This will give me opportunity to spend a reasonable time in London on my way back to New York.

With warm regard and cordial greeting, I am

Always sincerely yours,

Nicholas Murray Butler

#### ARTHUR BALFOUR'S LAST WORDS

When John Buchan, the late Lord Tweedsmuir, was in New York to take part in the ceremonies attendant upon the opening of the new Columbia University library on South Quadrangle in November, 1934, he told me what I had never before heard, the last words spoken by Arthur Balfour.

As his strength was ebbing and his life was nearing its end, and just before his eyes closed for the last time, Lord Balfour said, "This is going to be a wonderful experience." Those were his last words. They are wholly characteristic of that noble mind and spirit.

#### LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

This amusing story came to me while in England in 1932.

A party of Americans were visiting Lincoln Cathedral

and, having been shown its beauties and points of special architectural and historical interest, stood looking at the great building. They were entering in their notebooks various items of information which had just been conveyed to them. As they turned to leave, one of the women said to the rest of the group, "Wasn't it nice of these English people to name so splendid a cathedral as this after our great President?"

## FRANCE

### CLEMENCEAU AND AMERICANS

M. Clemenceau's political power and usefulness were seriously limited by his temperament and his habit of sharp, sarcastic and often abusive speech. He particularly disliked Americans and made no concealment of that fact.

A few years after the Treaty of Versailles, Clemenceau asked me to have lunch with him in his apartment on the Rue Lincoln in Paris. In our talk, he began some of his sarcastic remarks about the American people. I reminded him that he had had what must have been a useful and interesting experience as a teacher of French in a school in Connecticut, and that he was one of the very few persons still living who had sat in the gallery of the United States Senate when the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson was being argued before that body. Clemenceau spoke rather pleasantly of these memories, but was not long in returning to some of his sarcasm. I then remarked, with a smile, that it seemed to me odd for any one who held his views of the American people to have his home on the Rue Lincoln. Clemenceau replied, with a snap of his voice, "Lincoln is the only American for whom I have real respect."

## M. BRIAND ON LE VERBE

A really admirable *mot* of M. Briand must not fail to be recorded.

I was lunching with him at the Quai d'Orsay on Tuesday, June 30, 1925, when he had a small company, including M. Loucheur, to meet me in order that we might discuss some of the current international problems, both political and economic. After luncheon the conversation turned on the futility and wordiness of most of the debates in the French Chamber and in the Senate of the United States.

Briand, with a twinkle in his eye, exclaimed: "*Voilà l'ennemi du progrès humain—c'est le verbe!*"

On June 26, 1929, when I was having luncheon with M. Briand in Paris, we were speaking of the session of the Chamber of Deputies at which M. Franklin-Bouillon had stampeded the whole company by a fiery speech on the American debt question. Briand made this perfectly characteristic comment:

*Ça voulait être une séance historique, et ce fut seulement une séance hystérique.*

## MYRON HERRICK ON CLEMENCEAU

Myron Herrick, then Ambassador to France, with whom I took luncheon after the meeting of the Directors of the New York Life Insurance Company in October, 1926, told this delightful story of M. Clemenceau:

It appears that a few weeks earlier M. Clemenceau was sitting in the American Embassy waiting for a package of insulin, which he used stately as protection against his diabetes and which he could get better from America apparently than in France. The old gentleman was sitting there with a huge walking stick in his hand and a large

soft felt hat on his head. The Ambassador said to him: "M. Clemenceau, why has not the time come for us all to get together and talk over again the situation as to debts, reparations and economic recovery in Europe? We have all learned a great deal since 1918. Would it not be a good idea for all of us—France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and the United States—to sit down and discuss the whole situation in the light of our present experience?"

M. Clemenceau listened without a word. In a moment or two he rose from his seat and began to walk slowly around the room, striking viciously with his walking stick at each separate piece of furniture. He struck the leg of a chair, then the foot of a bookcase, then the side of a table, and then two or three more chairs, saying not a word. After he had completed his slow circuit of the room, M. Clemenceau stood up in front of the Ambassador and said, "There certainly would be a hell of a lot of talk!" No other reference, direct or indirect, did he make to the suggestion.

#### MONSIEUR JUSSERAND

The death in 1932 of my long-time friend, Jules Jusserand, for twenty-two years French Ambassador at Washington, brought to mind the very clever verses that were written of him by the late Canon Ainger, following upon the publication of Jusserand's books on English Life and Literature. The lines were these:

A Frenchman straying into English fields  
Of letters seldom has a *locus standi*;  
But if there's one to whom objection yields  
'Tis Jusserand—he has the *jus errandi*.

#### THE HAGUE

On the morning of Saturday, July 13, 1912, I had a call at the Berkeley Hotel in London from Van Swinderen,

the charming Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was stopping in London. He wanted to talk about matters affecting The Hague, particularly the completion of the Peace Palace, the development of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and the steps that seemed desirable in order to make The Hague more speedily and more completely the judicial seat of the new internationalist movement. I pointed out to him what had happened at Brussels to make that city the administrative center of the internationalist movement, and that already over eighty international organizations and activities of one kind or another had made their headquarters there. Partly as a cause and partly as an effect of all this, and partly for reasons quite outside the internationalist movement, Brussels had become a rich and very important center of international banking and finance. We both agreed that it was just as well to keep the judicial side of the movement out of contact with the financial, and that everything was pointing to The Hague as the judicial capital of the world. I told him the history of the United States Supreme Court, and how the justices had sat for months at the beginning of its existence with nothing to do, and how John Jay had insisted upon retiring from the chief justiceship because he felt that the Supreme Court was not on a proper basis and had no authority to enforce its findings. All this seemed to indicate that what the Permanent Court of Arbitration needed was a second John Marshall, to sit at its head and to pronounce decisions that were so just, so equitable and so in accord with the highest ideals and aspirations of mankind that they would enforce themselves through their effect upon the public opinion of the civilized world.

Van Swinderen also told me about the progress of the movement at The Hague and in Holland to raise a little fund in order to bring about the establishment at Colum-

bia University of a Queen Wilhelmina Lectureship on Dutch History, Language and Literature. This was done shortly thereafter, and that chair has proved to be a strong and welcome link between the intellectual life of the two countries.

## GERMANY

### THE KING-MAKERS

This amusing story was told me shortly after the event by William Walter Phelps, at one time our Minister to Berlin.

In April, 1889, a conference was held in Berlin to consider various questions which had arisen relative to governmental control and administration of the Samoan Islands in the Pacific Ocean.<sup>1</sup> The conference consisted of representatives of the governments of Germany, of Great Britain and of the United States. Bismarck, whose son, Count Herbert Bismarck, also represented the German government at the conference, was rather bored by the whole matter and did not see why Germany should take any interest in what he called a group of rocks in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. He was willing to settle the question of control by recognizing the independence of the Samoan government and the free right of the natives to elect their chief or king and to choose their form of government according to their own laws and customs, provided the three signatory powers had equal rights of residence, trade and personal protection. This plan was agreed to and there was left the question of the kingship of the Samoan Islands. The two rivals for this post were named Mataafa and Malietoa. Bismarck did not care in the least

<sup>1</sup>An account of the work of this conference is given in Hugh M. Herrick's *William Walter Phelps: His Life and Public Services* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1904), pp. 207-222.

which of the two was selected to be king. He therefore left the whole matter, so far as he was concerned, to Phelps, who was the chief American representative at the conference. Phelps listened to all the arguments and decided in favor of Malietoa, who in due time became king of the Samoan people.

Just after the conference had ended, Bismarck invited Phelps for luncheon at the Foreign Office. When luncheon had been served and Bismarck and Phelps were alone in the room, talking informally of men and things, Bismarck said:

“Mr. Phelps, it has been a great pleasure to meet you. You are a relatively young man and there is no doubt that you have a useful life before you. I am an old man. We shall probably never meet again. Before we separate, let me ask you to lift your glass and join me in this toast: To ourselves—the King-Makers!”

This was an admirable illustration of Bismarck’s sense of humor which he was not generally known to possess.

#### IN AMERIKA DIE HERREN IMMER TRAGEN!

An instructive sidelight on one aspect of German civilization is thrown by this anecdote.

Years ago Professor John W. Burgess of Columbia University and Mrs. Burgess were landing at Cuxhaven by tender from the steamer that had conveyed them across the Atlantic. As the passengers left the tender for the landing-stage, Mrs. Burgess preceded her husband, who followed, staggering under two or three rather heavy pieces of hand luggage. Some German women who were looking on, and who were evidently impressed by the fact that Mrs. Burgess was without any burden while her husband carried a heavy one, exchanged looks and some whispered remarks.

Then Mrs. Burgess overheard one of the women say with marked emphasis, "*Ja, in Amerika die Herren immer tragen!*"

#### VISIT TO WILHELMSHÖHE, 1912

Following the ceremonies attendant upon the celebration in October, 1910, of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the University of Berlin, I said good-by to the Kaiser at the Palace in Berlin on October 15. At luncheon that day both Secretary of War Dickinson and Ambassador David Jayne Hill were present. When saying good-by, the Kaiser asked me to be sure to come to Wilhelmshöhe as usual the following summer, and I promised to do so. During the month of June, 1911, word was received from Count Eulenburg that it would be convenient to have me come to Wilhelmshöhe on August 5 or 6.

On August 3 and 4, 1911, I was at Bern, attending the conference of economists and historians called to give advice and counsel as to the work of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. At that time the papers announced that the Kaiserin had been taken ill with a serious affection of the throat, and that the Kaiser had cancelled all his appointments and was about to return to Berlin. Not unnaturally, I interpreted this to include my own visit to Wilhelmshöhe, and, after sending a telegram of sympathy to the Kaiser, started back to Paris and subsequently went to Scotland for a short visit. I heard no more about the matter until the following January, when former Ambassador Charlemagne Tower, who had just then returned from Germany, told me that the Kaiser had expressed his disappointment that I had not come to Wilhelmshöhe as he had expected. He had not understood why I had not come, since he knew that I had been in Europe and that all arrangements for a visit to Wilhelms-

höhe had been made. It then appeared that the public announcement which I had seen in the press only referred to engagements of an official character that might call him away from Wilhelmshöhe or would have brought prominent officials there. It did not refer to such purely personal appointments as he had made, including the one for me. I did what I could at once to remove the impression of courtesy and to explain the misunderstanding, and promptly received a message that it would be all right if I would be sure to come in 1912.

During April, 1912, I communicated with Count Eulenburg as to a suitable time for my visit, and received word while the Kaiser and his party were still at Corfu that I would be expected at Wilhelmshöhe about the middle of August. I therefore went to Wilhelmshöhe from Frankfurt on the afternoon of Saturday, August 10, and reported myself at the Castle on Sunday morning. Immediately there came a very cordial message, accompanied by a free pass to the Castle and grounds, saying that every hour was taken up with manœuvres and other functions until Wednesday, the 14th, but that I should then be expected for luncheon and a long talk.

When I arrived on Wednesday at one o'clock there was no other guest except a little prince from some other part of Germany, but I was glad to find von Jenisch there as he was most accomplished and always exceedingly agreeable.

The Empress entered the room first, accompanied by the Princess Victoria Louise, and both were very gracious, asking why I had not come in the summer of 1911, and recalling some amusing incidents of the large dinner given at the Palace in Berlin in October, 1910. They were particularly keen about the amazingly indiscreet stories with which Professor Mahaffy of the University of Dublin had

entertained them at that dinner. In a moment the Kaiser arrived and put me on his left at the table.

The talk which followed was so intensely interesting and so rapid that I had no opportunity to be even reasonably polite to the exceedingly agreeable and attractive lady-in-waiting at my other side. The Kaiser was very anxious to talk about all sorts of things, and wanted to know in fullest detail regarding the attitude which the American government was taking over the Panama-Canal Tolls. I explained the whole situation to him, and indicated the sense of shame and sorrow that I felt, in common with most other Americans I had met, at the attitude that was being taken in Congress. The consoling feature of the whole situation was that the better portion of the American press and almost every important unofficial representative of public opinion agreed that our official attitude was unjustifiable and preposterous.

From this the talk passed to the treaty-making power of the American government in general, and I pointed out to the Kaiser that the subject which we had just been discussing illustrated admirably how that power could—and sometimes did—operate. He was astonished when I told him that it was established constitutional law in the United States that the Congress had power to pass an act in flat violation of an existing treaty with another government without negotiating with that government or even notifying it. I told him that this interpretation of the power of the Congress had been upheld by the United States Supreme Court and was, therefore, the law of the land. The Kaiser was very much shocked at my statement, and asked me to repeat it so that he might be sure to understand it. I did so and he followed intently what I said. Summoning an attendant, he sent for von Jenisch who arrived in a moment or two. "Now, Butler," said the Kaiser, "repeat,

if you will, to Jenisch that extraordinary statement you just made to me." So I repeated the statement. The Kaiser turned to von Jenisch, said, "Do you understand that?" and Jenisch replied that he did.

"Very well," said the Kaiser, "then tell them at the Foreign Office never to make another treaty with the government of the United States." During the Kaiser's rule, they never did.

This whole matter first attracted general public attention in connection with the Chinese Exclusion Act back in 1889, although it had been definitely settled by the United States Supreme Court in a number of cases many years earlier. In rendering the opinion of the Supreme Court in the so-called *Head Money Cases*, Mr. Justice Miller said:

So far as a treaty made by the United States with any foreign nation can become the subject of judicial cognizance in the courts of this country, it is subject to such acts as Congress may pass for its enforcement, modification or repeal.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, in the case of *Chae Chan Ping v. United States* the Court expressly held that:

The act of October 1, 1888, 25 Stat. 504, c. 1064, excluding Chinese laborers from the United States, was a constitutional exercise of legislative power, and, so far as it conflicted with existing treaties between the United States and China, it operated to that extent to abrogate them as part of the municipal law of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, the good name and the trustworthiness of the Government of the United States—so far as the treaty-making power is concerned—are in the hands of the Congress. If the Congress refuses to pass an act in violation of a treaty, the good name of the government is preserved;

<sup>1</sup>112 U. S. 599 (1884).

<sup>2</sup>130 U. S. 581 (1888).

but if the Congress insists upon passing an act in violation of a treaty, without any negotiations whatsoever with the power or powers with which that treaty has been made, then the good name and trustworthiness of the Government of the United States are gravely damaged.

The Kaiser then wanted to know all about Theodore Roosevelt and what he was doing, and how he distinguished his policy from socialism. This led to a long talk about the Chicago Convention of 1912 and American politics generally. The Kaiser expressed his amazement that T. R. was advocating a minimum wage, and pointed out the economic unsoundness of any such proposal. We then drifted off to European politics, and talked about the English situation, as to which the Kaiser asked many acute questions. I told him what I thought the psychological situation in Great Britain was. He replied that the German government found great difficulty in dealing with Sir Edward Grey because he was so insular and so untravelled, and quite unable to look at any question under discussion from the point of view of the other nation. He said that this trait had gotten Grey into friction not only with Germany but with Russia and with China, and that however able a man Grey might be, he was not equipped by training and knowledge for the vitally important post of Foreign Secretary.

He went on to say what I had often heard him say before, that there would be no real trouble between Germany and England, no matter how much talk there was, since both nations were really too civilized and too intelligent to fly at each other's throats. He added, with a good deal of feeling, "I have to show lots of patience, but patience will solve all of these difficulties." We talked until after three o'clock, and had a most vivacious and interesting time.

Curiously enough, I had another long talk with the Kaiser under somewhat amusing circumstances.

On Friday, August 16, it rained heavily in the morning and when the downpour stopped about noon, I started off for a walk through the woods to get some exercise. I had been walking for some little time and was pretty muddy and bedraggled when, on coming to a crossing of two paths, I walked right into the Kaiser who was also taking a constitutional, accompanied by two of his staff and followed at a respectful distance by a little group of curiosity seekers. He saw me as soon as I saw him and called out, "Hello, Butler, what a good lunch we had on Wednesday!" He then stopped and we stood in the mud for nearly forty minutes in a most interesting conversation, or rather monologue, for the Kaiser did most of the talking.

After a few other matters were spoken of, he got on to the *Titanic* disaster, and revealed an amazing knowledge of every detail of the accident. He knew all about the size and construction of the ship. He knew all about the testimony given in Washington and in London at the two hearings, and he knew all about the various telegrams that had been sent and the information they had conveyed. He was most emphatic in denouncing the bad navigation of the ship, which he ascribed to Ismay's control over Captain Smith and the former's determination to make a good record for the maiden trip. He denounced Ismay as a coward and as a Greek Jew from whom nothing better could be expected. He traced directly to him the loss of so many valuable lives. He went on to say that the English, with all their talk about the sea and navigation, did not have proper charts. He said that the charts issued on April 1 from the German Marine-Amt showed ice at almost precisely the place that the *Titanic* struck it. He also detailed the arrangements made on the best German mer-

chantmen for insuring safety at sea. He went on to say that never again would Germany compete with England or with anybody else for what was called the blue ribbon of the seas. He said that ships were big enough and fast enough then, and there was no object to be gained in driving them faster to save a few hours' time for greedy Jewish passengers on business bent. He said that he told Ballin that the *Imperator*, the huge new ship being built by the Hamburg-American Line, should be made safe first of all and no faster than the North-German Lloyd express boats already on the ocean.

During this whole talk the Kaiser was at his best. He was not only vivacious, but brilliant and animated in high degree. He ended by telling me to be sure to stay over Sunday as he wanted to see me again. Later he sent word that some official business had come up and he would have to leave Wilhelmshöhe Sunday afternoon. I therefore left without another talk, but felt that these two long intimate conversations had had unusual interest and value.

During the more than twenty difficult years in which the Kaiser has lived at Doorn, his bearing and his attitude toward public affairs have certainly been beyond criticism.

#### STRESEMANN AND BRIAND

While sitting with Doctor Stresemann at the Foreign Office in Wilhelmstrasse on June 25, 1926, he told me this very interesting story illustrating the intimate relationship that had grown up between himself and M. Briand, as well as M. Briand's own likeness of spirit and sense of humor.

During the anxious days at Geneva in March, 1926, when the immediate admission of Germany to the League of Nations was under discussion, and Brazil had taken an

attitude which seemed to make the immediate admission of Germany impossible, M. Briand and Doctor Stresemann were sitting together in a private room in intimate conference. Outside were grouped thirty or forty journalists, anxiously waiting to hear what might be the result. Suddenly M. Briand said: "I do not see what we can do. Under the rules as they now exist, unless Brazil is willing to give way, action on our part seems impossible. We seem to be blocked entirely. Do you see anything that we can do?"

To this, Doctor Stresemann replied in like vein: "No, it is an impasse. If Brazil insists, no action seems to be possible."

"Ah well," said M. Briand, "let us go to bed and sleep on it. Perhaps something will occur to us in our dreams."

"Excellent!" replied Doctor Stresemann, with a laugh. "I agree."

Both men rose and opened the door to go out into the ante-room where the journalists were waiting. M. Briand, his face wreathed in smiles, put his arm through that of Doctor Stresemann and awaited the questions of the journalists. To these, M. Briand replied with his most gracious smile and wave of the hand, "Gentlemen, you may say that France and Germany are in entire agreement as to what is next to be done."

This optimistic message was straightway cabled round the world. What France and Germany had agreed to do was to go to bed and sleep on the question.

## ITALY

### ANECDOTE OF D'ANNUNZIO

While in Rome during the months of March and April, 1930, Signor Sartorio, the well-known painter who served

as Acting President of the Accademia Reale at the time, told me of this most amusing incident.

When the Academy was organized, Mussolini invited d'Annunzio to accept designation as one of the original members. D'Annunzio bluntly declined, saying that he did not care to be the figure 1 that would give value to so many ciphers!

## THE VATICAN

### POPE PIUS XI'S MARVELLOUS DEFINITION OF WAR

During my first audience with Pope Pius XI in June, 1927, His Holiness used a sentence which should become historic and be engraved over the portals of government buildings in every land. When discussing the problems underlying the establishment of world peace and M. Briand's appeal to the United States for an agreement to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, His Holiness, with profound impressiveness, said, "*La guerre est la chasse de l'homme à l'homme pour tuer l'homme.*" Surely no more perfect definition of war has ever been given.

### FATHER LEDÓCHOWSKI

During my visit to Rome in 1930 no man impressed me more by his obvious qualities of mind, spirit and temper than Father Ledóchowski, himself a Pole, who is serving as General of the Order of the Jesuits, twenty-sixth in succession. In the course of our conversation he told me this amusing anecdote:

A prize was offered for competition to an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German and a Pole, for the best essay on

elephants. When the competitors submitted their essays for the prize, the titles were found to be as follows:

The Englishman: *La Chasse des Eléphants*  
The Frenchman: *Les Amours des Eléphants*  
The German: *l'Histoire de l'Eléphant*  
The Pole: *l'Eléphant et la Pologne*

#### POPE PIUS X

At a dinner given at his home in New York by Louis Wiley on November 10, 1927, Sir Rennell Rodd, now Lord Rennell of Rodd, told this highly amusing story of Cardinal Sarto who, in 1903, became Pope Pius X on the seventh ballot.

It appears that while the balloting was going forward Cardinal Sarto, who spoke no French, was addressed in French by a cardinal of French nationality. Cardinal Sarto replied: "*Non possum galliensis loqui*," to which the French cardinal immediately responded: "*Eheu! Tu es non papabilis.*" "*Deo gratias,*" responded Cardinal Sarto. On the next ballot he was chosen Pope and became Pius X.

#### RUSSIA

##### THE LVOV-MILYUKOV GROUP

The government established in Russia following the deposition of the Czar was overthrown in July, 1917. The government headed by M. Kerensky succeeded it. In the autumn of 1918, five representatives of the government which had been overthrown came to the United States, by way of Siberia and Japan, to explain what had happened in Russia. The leaders of this group were Prince Lvov, who had been Prime Minister of the first provisional government, and M. Milyukov, who had been the distinguished head of its Foreign Office. They dined with me

at President's House and then explained to a representative group who had been invited to hear them what had taken place in Russia. Their story was intensely interesting and their personalities, particularly those of Prince Lvov and M. Milyukov, were very attractive. The friendships then formed were continued until Prince Lvov's death in Paris in 1925. For many years it was my habit to meet these statesmen in Paris each year and to hear from them in most confidential fashion accurate news of Russian happenings and Russian policies, first under Lenin and then under Stalin. Constantly members of this group expressed the belief that they and the ideas of government which they represented would be restored to power in Russia in the near future. After 1927 or 1928, however, their attitude changed entirely. They then became discouraged and despondent and admitted that there was no prospect of any restoration such as they had hoped for during the lifetime of any one of them. They were a quite extraordinary group, and it is tragic that they were not able for more than so few months to serve their country and start it on a path toward constructive social and economic progress.

#### M. KERENSKY ON RUSSIA

On Thursday, April 7, 1927, I had the great pleasure of welcoming at the University M. Alexander Kerensky, who, it will be recalled, was at the head of the government of Russia following the deposition of the Czar and the fall of the ministry headed by Prince Lvov in 1917. He was a vigorous, good-looking man in middle life, with quick, energetic movements and the face and habit of an orator. He spoke almost no English, and while his facility in French was considerable, it proved not to be easy to talk

freely with him in any language. Therefore the conversation was carried on through his secretary as interpreter. His secretary was an accomplished young Russian gentleman who at the time was enrolled for certain advanced studies at Columbia University.

M. Kerensky answered promptly and freely the various questions that I asked him about conditions in Russia. Among other things, he stated that the influence of the Jewish element in the Soviet government had largely declined with the passing from power of Trotsky and Zinoviev. He added, however, that many of the leading personalities now in control of Moscow were not true Russians but foreigners, some being Lithuanians, some Poles and some semi-Orientals. He named Stalin as the dominant personality at the moment.

In answer to an inquiry as to what could be said of the future, M. Kerensky stated that, while no man could fix the date at which the break-up would come, it was coming by a sort of process of political and social disintegration of the group and the principles that had been in control. He confidently expected a democratic liberal government in Russia within a reasonable time.

He told me that Baron von Maltzan, the German Ambassador at Washington at the time, was one of the most active personalities in fomenting the Communist or Bolshevik uprising in Russia in 1917. The chief factors in managing this were, said M. Kerensky, General Ludendorff, Baron von Maltzan and Lucius, the German Minister at Stockholm. Their purpose, of course, was to weaken Russia as an armed enemy and to destroy its power as a participant against Germany in the war. M. Kerensky said that he had seen full documentary evidence of all this and that, unless later destroyed, the official records at Moscow would substantiate everything he was saying.

M. Kerensky has since become a warm friend, and I have been fortunate enough to see much of him.

## MEXICO

M. LIMANTOUR

In connection with a visit to New York of James R. Sheffield, who in 1926 was American Ambassador to Mexico, there was recalled to my mind an incident which took place during my only visit to Mexico, made in the early spring of 1903. There was a small party, of which I was a member, which went as guests of Mr. and Mrs. James Speyer of New York. One of the great pleasures of the visit was a personal interview with President Díaz, who was an impressive personality.

By far the most charming and statesmanlike person that I met at that time, however, was M. Limantour, then Minister of Finance in the Cabinet of President Díaz. On the night before we left for the north, I dined at the house of M. Limantour with a small company. After dinner he played the piano most delightfully. As I was about to take leave, I said to him, "M. Limantour, unless all signs fail, when I next come to Mexico I shall have the privilege of paying my respects to you in the Palace of the President."

With a quick smile, he said, "Oh no, you will not do that. Mexico will need a *café au lait* president for a long time to come."

## CHINA

TONG SHAO-YI

During the long generation now past, there was probably no more distinguished Chinese statesman than Tong Shao-Yi. He and I met during student days, since he was

sent to the United States by his government and was for a time in old Columbia College when I was also an undergraduate there. We quickly made acquaintance and as a result became friends and correspondents for nearly sixty years. Tong returned to China and began the very distinguished career of public service with which his name will always be associated. He held one high office after another and apparently discharged the duties of each and every one of them with distinction. Following the return to China of the Boxer Indemnity by the government of the United States, Tong was sent to Washington as Special Ambassador to convey to the President the formal thanks and appreciation of his government. I visited him at Washington and we had long and for me most illuminating talks on conditions in China and in the Orient generally, and as to the problems which faced the Oriental peoples not only in their contacts with the West but also in their relations with each other. Years later I read in the newspapers the statement that Tong had resigned from public office. Wondering what the reason for this change of attitude on his part might be, I wrote to ask what this was all about. Tong replied that the government of China had broken into pieces and that, as matters then were, he did not feel that he could continue to render any very useful service in public office. He had therefore settled in Shanghai and become president of an important insurance company. He sent me a charming photograph of his residence and begged me not only to visit him but to feel perfectly free to send friends and acquaintances to call upon him when any such persons were to be in Shanghai. To this I answered that, while the government of China might have broken to pieces for the time being, it did not seem likely that it could stay in that shattered condition, but must shortly be reorganized and unified in

a way that would give him opportunity for farther official public service. Tong wrote back in humorous vein to say that, while I was correct in theory, yet in practice it had usually taken China from two hundred and fifty to three hundred years to recover from that sort of governmental disorganization. He expressed doubt whether it was wise for him to plan to wait for so long a time in order to return to public office! This was a delightful and typical Chinese reply to my question.

Most unhappily, Tong died a tragic death in 1938. His head was split open with a hatchet by two Chinamen who were in opposition to his public activities. Tong always impressed me as having the mental equipment and the temperament of a real statesman.

## UNITED STATES

### STEEL VERSUS GLUE

In discussing not long ago some of the characteristics of the late Abram S. Hewitt, there was brought to mind an amusing occurrence in the year 1902. Mr. Carnegie had made two gifts—I think the total was \$600,000—to the Cooper Institute, and in celebration thereof Mr. Hewitt gave a dinner in honor of Mr. Carnegie at his house on Lexington Avenue. He was kind enough to include me in the company.

After the dinner had been served, Mr. Hewitt rose in his place and proposed a toast to Mr. Carnegie. In offering that toast, he told an amusing anecdote of his own relation to the steel business. He recounted how he and his brother-in-law, Edward Cooper, had established their famous iron works at Trenton, New Jersey, a generation before, and then said that their total profit from those iron works for the whole period of their operation did not

amount to so much as Mr. Carnegie's single gift to Cooper Institute.

"But this," added Mr. Hewitt, "was not entirely our fault. More than thirty years ago we told my father-in-law, Mr. Peter Cooper, that Pittsburgh was indicated as the center of the profitable steel industry and that we should like to be put in funds with which to rebuild our iron and steel works at that point."

"No," replied Mr. Cooper, "I can not do it. Even now it takes all the money I can make in the glue business to keep you and Edward afloat in the steel business."

#### UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

When the United States Steel Corporation was founded in 1901, the amount of its capitalization staggered the public and was the subject of much unfavorable comment. It was freely charged that the entire capital stock of the new corporation, as well as some of its bonds, represented only water and not genuine property values.

About that time I was a guest at dinner of Mr. William E. Dodge at his house on Madison Avenue, and among the guests was Mr. D. Willis James, an old family friend. Mr. Dodge and Mr. James had both been invited to become original Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, no doubt because of their high personal standing not only in New York but throughout the country. At dinner the conversation turned on the subject of the capitalization of the Steel Corporation. I recall very well Mr. Dodge saying, with much earnestness: "There is not one dollar of water in that capitalization. Even if we estimate the ore in the ground as worth but one dollar a ton—and we would not sell it for twice that—there is no over-capitalization."

He then went on to explain that the juxtaposition of

limestone, coking coal and manufacturing facilities, made Pittsburgh the natural and necessary home of the Steel Corporation, the good will of which he estimated as having a great value of its own. Subsequent history of this huge undertaking has certainly borne out Mr. Dodge's statements.

#### SIR MICHAEL SADLER AT COLUMBIA

When Michael Sadler, later Master of University College, Oxford, came to Columbia in 1902, and the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causâ*, was conferred upon him at the Commencement of that year, he made a characteristically charming and eloquent speech at the alumni luncheon which followed the Commencement exercises. This luncheon was held, for lack of any other place, in what was then the single large room on the south side of uncompleted University Hall. In the course of his speech, Sadler recounted an anecdote well known at Oxford but unfamiliar in New York, which aroused the greatest merriment among the alumni who heard it and sent some of the classical teachers, notably Nelson Glenn McCrea, almost into hysterics. It was the simple story of the English youth who translated the phrase *splendide mendax* by the words "lying in state."

The anecdote and indeed the whole speech were a great success.

#### ORIGIN OF EVELYN INNES

At a luncheon given in New York in 1904 by Kate Douglas Wiggin (Mrs. George C. Riggs) for Professor Butcher, formerly of the University of Edinburgh, Mr. Butcher told this story as to the origin of George Moore's *Evelyn Innes*:

It seems that Moore was staying at a country house

over the week-end and that Sir Francis Jeune, President of the Divorce Court, was of the same party. In the course of conversation Sir Francis Jeune remarked that were it not for drink in the lower classes and music in the upper classes there would be nothing for his court to do. Moore exclaimed at once that there was an idea for a novel. *Evelyn Innes* was the result. When the work was completed, Moore sent a copy to Sir Francis Jeune with his compliments and a statement of the relation between the plan of the book and the earlier remark of Sir Francis Jeune himself. The latter replied to Moore that he had read the book and very much regretted that any remark of his could have led to so unfortunate a result.

#### SENATOR PLATT'S CYNICISM

There used to be in circulation an amusing anecdote of former Senator Thomas C. Platt of New York, which fully reveals both his point of view and his cynicism. He gave this counsel to one of his friends: "If you find any lie about you in the newspapers, do not reply to it. Least of all, contradict it. A lie will take care of itself. When you find me denying anything, you may take it for granted that it is true."

#### THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS SPECIAL AMBASSADOR IN LONDON

When I reached London in the month of June, 1910, I found that there were in circulation a number of very amusing stories about Theodore Roosevelt. He, when on his way home from his African journey, had been designated by President Taft to be Special Ambassador from the United States on the occasion of the funeral of King Edward VII. The best of these stories was one told me

by Whitelaw Reid himself, our Ambassador in London at the moment.

Reid said that on the evening of the King's funeral a very private dinner was given at Buckingham Palace by the new King to the monarchs, some eight or nine in number, who had come to attend the funeral of his father. The only guest other than these monarchs was Theodore Roosevelt in his capacity as former President of the United States and now Special Ambassador in London. Roosevelt was placed at the table next to the German Kaiser, and during the dinner the Kaiser asked T.R. whether he knew any of the monarchs assembled at the table. T.R. replied no, that he did not, but that he would be very glad to meet them. Turning to the Kaiser, T.R. said, with complete nonchalance, "Bring 'em up after dinner." Whitelaw Reid was convulsed with laughter at this anecdote, and assured me that when it was repeated, the laughter in London was not confined to himself.

#### WHEN GERMAN MUSIC BEGINS

So far as the San Francisco Exposition of 1915 was concerned, European participation was greatly reduced, and in the case of some countries made impossible, by the outbreak of the Great War. Various nations, including the French, made every effort, however, to send some representative men to San Francisco. One of these was M. Saint-Saëns, the eminent composer, who was no longer young. Nevertheless, he undertook the long journey from Paris to San Francisco in time of war, in order to represent the art and the civilization of France.

As M. Saint-Saëns passed through New York, a dinner was given in his honor at the University Club, and I was placed next him. On my other side sat a gentleman who did not speak French and who told me the following anec-

dote with the request that I translate it for M. Saint-Saëns, whom he thought it would amuse.

It appears that the New York Symphony Society Orchestra, under the leadership of Walter Damrosch, had been in the habit, when its New York season came to an end, of making a concert tour in Canada where the orchestra had a large following and was much appreciated. When the war broke out, the question was raised whether it would be desirable for an orchestra, so many of whose members were Germans or Austrians, to attempt a concert tour in the Dominion of Canada, especially since the conductor, Walter Damrosch, though a devoted and loyal American, had the fortune to be born in the city of Breslau. The matter was taken up by correspondence, and it was finally settled that the concert tour should go on, but that no German or Austrian music should be played. The concert programs were to be made up from the works of English, French, Italian, Polish, Russian and Scandinavian composers. All went well until at a concert in Montreal repeated encores exhausted the director's prepared list of compositions to be rendered that evening and, without reflecting, he set the tempo for a composition by Mendelssohn. The piece was admirably rendered, and the Canadian audience received it rapturously, not reflecting or recalling that it was a German composition.

The gentleman who told me the story regarded this as a good joke both on the Canadians and on Damrosch. I then repeated the anecdote to M. Saint-Saëns, who listened attentively and then replied: "Why, Mendelssohn's music is not German, Beethoven's music is not German, Mozart's music is not German; they belong to the world. German music begins with Wagner and gets steadily worse and worse."

## THE LUSITANIA NOTE

At one of the meetings of the Little Mothers<sup>1</sup> at the Hotel Bon Air, Augusta, Georgia, during the month of March, 1917, Mr. Alba B. Johnson of Philadelphia, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Company, told the following story:

The *Lusitania* was sunk about two-thirty on the afternoon of Friday, May 7, 1915. The American papers of Saturday morning contained rumors of the disaster, but not until Sunday morning did the full details of the outrage and the very great loss of life reach the American people. At once a wave of indignation and horror swept over the country such as had not been seen since the firing on Fort Sumter. On Monday evening, May 10, President Wilson was scheduled to speak in Exposition Hall, Philadelphia, at a meeting in the interest of the Americanization movement. All the recently naturalized citizens of Philadelphia and its vicinity were to be present. The President spent the morning of that day in close conference with Secretary Bryan, who undoubtedly gave to the President a full and persuasive exposition of his ultrapacifist views. The result was that the President, in addressing his great Philadelphia audience in the evening, made his famous "too proud to fight" speech, which both astonished and shocked the country. Mr. Johnson was himself present and heard the President. He stated that the effect of the President's declaration upon the great audience of 12,000 or 14,000 persons was most painful and that disapproval was in plain evidence.

The President returned to Washington during the night, and by eleven o'clock on Tuesday morning was confronted with about three hundred telegrams of indigna-

<sup>1</sup>See p. 423.

tion and protest that were placed upon his desk by his secretary, Mr. Tumulty. Wilson showed some impatience at these remonstrances, but Mr. Tumulty insisted that the situation was one that must be met and that the President should meet it in the form of a strong note to the German government. Wilson continued to manifest impatience at the criticism, and finally Mr. Tumulty suggested that he himself should try his hand at a draft of a proposed note to Germany. The President assented, and Mr. Tumulty secluded himself for several hours and worked upon the draft of a note. About four o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Tumulty came to the conclusion that the job was too much for him, and that it required the hand and the head of some one more thoroughly versed than he in international law and in the history of diplomacy. So he telephoned to his friend, Cal O'Laughlin—whom I understand to be John Callan O'Laughlin—to come and help him. O'Laughlin entered into the work with zest, but about eight o'clock in the evening he too came to the conclusion that the task was one too great for his knowledge and ability. Thereupon he called in his friend, James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and formerly Solicitor of the State Department, without telling Doctor Scott the precise use that was to be made of the document in course of preparation. O'Laughlin did, however, tell Doctor Scott that he felt sure the document would be very influential in shaping the policy of the Administration. Doctor Scott worked upon the matter late into the night and prepared a memorandum of policy based upon the law and the facts in the *Lusitania* case. He gave this draft to O'Laughlin, who in turn gave it to Tumulty, who in his turn placed it without comment on the President's desk on Wednesday morning, May 12. The

President, assuming the draft to have been the work of his secretary, read it carefully and expressed great satisfaction with it. He then shut himself up in his private office and announced to the newspapers that he was at work upon a note to the German government in regard to the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He wrote this note upon his own typewriter and destroyed, by tearing to pieces and by burning, the memorandum which had come to him from Doctor Scott through O'Laughlin and Tumulty. The *Lusitania* note as it finally appeared, signed by Mr. Bryan, followed in almost every respect the argument, and in several places used the precise language, of Doctor Scott's memorandum. The note itself, however, was cast in Mr. Wilson's peculiar literary style.

On May 12, Doctor Scott was to leave for Cleveland, Ohio, to address some convention. Before leaving, he and O'Laughlin agreed upon a telegraphic code by means of which Scott might be informed as to how his memorandum was received by the Administration. O'Laughlin filed a code telegram to Doctor Scott informing him on these points as soon as he, O'Laughlin, learned from Tumulty what the facts were. This telegram never reached Doctor Scott, but a copy of it did reach von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador.

On Wednesday, March 28, 1917, I related this story to Doctor Scott in the presence of Assistant Secretary S. N. D. North in the offices of the Carnegie Endowment at Washington. Doctor Scott was absolutely astounded to find that what he had supposed was an ultraconfidential matter was known to me. He confirmed the story in every particular, remarking that while he had recognized his own ideas and some of his own language in the *Lusitania* note, he had never known until I told him that the memorandum itself had actually reached the President. He also

added that the telegram said to have been sent to him at Cleveland by O'Laughlin was never delivered.

GERMAN SPIES IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES  
AT WASHINGTON

I

Another most interesting and very circumstantial story was told by Mr. Johnson:

A so-called Neutrality Board consisting of Doctor James Brown Scott and two captains in the Navy, specially versed in international law and practice, was constituted immediately upon the outbreak of the war in August, 1914, for the purpose of informing the Department of State, of the Navy and of Justice on the law and precedents governing any question which might arise in the course of hostilities so far as the interests or rights of the United States were concerned. This important step was taken by President Wilson on the suggestion of Senator Root, who pointed out to him the necessity for some such body since the Department of State itself was already undermanned and could not hope to deal satisfactorily and quickly with the heavy burden of new work that was certain to arise.

This Neutrality Board held its sessions in the rooms of the Washington office of the Carnegie Endowment, 2 Jackson Place, immediately opposite the White House and the State, War and Navy Departments. The opinions and recommendations of the Board were naturally treated with the utmost confidence. Of each opinion and recommendation six copies were made, each copy being numbered. One of these was deposited in the records of the Neutrality Board itself, and five were sent to the Secretary of State, who receipted for them. One of these five copies

the Secretary kept in his own office, the remaining four were sent to the President, to the Secretary of War, to the Secretary of the Navy and to the War College, each copy being again carefully receipted for.

On one occasion during the year 1916, a clerk in the office of the Isthmian Canal Commission, while going to lunch and passing near the building of the State, War and Navy Departments, found on the edge of the sidewalk a bundle of papers that had apparently been dropped. On picking these up, he was quick to observe that they were official documents and he therefore took them to his bureau chief. This official, seeing what they were, sent the documents with a note to Doctor Scott. The documents proved to be copies of six confidential opinions that had been prepared by Captain Knapp of the Neutrality Board and furnished some time before by that Board to the Secretary of State. Inquiry was promptly made to ascertain whether any of the official copies of these documents were missing from their proper places. None were missing, and each of the six official files containing them was complete. Captain Knapp then examined the papers that had been found in the street with particular minuteness and he noticed a very interesting fact. It appears that shortly after one of these official opinions had been furnished to the Secretary of State, a book had been published discussing some of the aspects of the problems dealt with in the opinion and supporting the same view that the Neutrality Board had held. Captain Knapp, thinking it important that the Secretary of State should have the benefit of this later argument, went to the Secretary, got his copy of that particular opinion, and wrote on its margin at several points specific references to the new book in question where support for the findings of the opinion could be had. To Captain Knapp's profound amazement, the

copy of the opinion that had been picked up in the street contained these later annotations of his, but the copyist had run them into the body of the opinion at the points where they had been made and did not copy them as annotations. This made it quite clear that the copy of the original opinion which had been used by whosoever transcribed the documents found in the street was that belonging to the Secretary of State himself. This pointed to a spy who had access to his own office.

When these facts were brought to the attention of Secretary Lansing by Captain Knapp, the Secretary answered that he supposed there must be a German spy in the Department of State, but that there was no use in trying to seek him out and get rid of him as, if that were done, von Bernstorff would have another in his place in the shortest possible time.

## II

One of the most interesting personalities that the Great War of 1914-18 brought to public attention is Mr. Rathom, Editor of the Providence (Rhode Island) *Journal*. He was a born Englishman, who served in the Boer War and in the Spanish-American War and who as well had been a member of the British secret service. From the very beginning of the war Mr. Rathom had more and more accurate knowledge of the activities of the German spies and plotters in America than any one else. Some of his knowledge was made public from time to time in the columns of his newspaper, some of it was given to the highest officials of the Administration, but much of it was known only to himself and his most intimate friends.

One morning in the latter part of 1916, Mr. Rathom was in conference with President Wilson. Before leaving, he asked the President whether he would like to see a copy

of the report which the Secretary of the Navy was to make on the following day in response to a secret Presidential request for certain information in regard to the Navy. The President expressed great astonishment at Mr. Rathom's suggestion and finally asked how in the world Mr. Rathom knew that he, the President, had addressed any such confidential request to the Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Rathom replied that he did not know that the President had done this, but that he did know that a document purporting to be a reply to such an inquiry was ready for Mr. Daniels' signature and would reach the President on the following morning. He stated moreover that, if the President would like to see it, he could then and there show him a photographic copy of the coming reply. He thereupon drew from his pocket and showed the President a photographic copy of the reply which the Secretary of the Navy was to make on the following day to the President, which photographic copy had been made by Mr. Rathom himself from a typewritten copy of the forthcoming reply taken from the German Embassy at Washington.

When the reply of Secretary Daniels was received on the following day, it proved to be the identical reply which Mr. Rathom had photographed from papers that had reached him, having been taken from the German Embassy.

On an earlier occasion, Mr. Rathom had gone to the President with copies of some thirty wireless dispatches sent from the United States to Berlin in code, which the Secretary of the Navy had neither stopped nor caused to be censored or decoded. When the Secretary of the Navy was sent for, and he attempted to decode these messages for the President, he had to admit his inability to do so. Mr. Rathom, however, took the code from his pocket and at once decoded them. He then said that he would

deem it his public duty to publish these messages unless Von Papen and Captain Boy-Ed were at once dismissed from the United States. They were immediately so dismissed by the President. To Mr. Rathom's courage and skill is due the credit for that action.

#### IT DEPENDS ON WHERE THE ACCENT FALLS

Here is an anecdote which shows the unwisdom of using a word unless you are entirely certain of its meaning and pronunciation:

At a luncheon given at Ophir Farm, the country home of Mr. and Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, on a Sunday while the Versailles Treaty was pending in the United States Senate, a well-known New York woman informed me with great pleasure that she had just relieved her soul by sending a telegram of one word to Senator Lodge. I asked her what the word was. She replied, "An-a-thé-ma." Something about this unusual pronunciation of a well-known word awakened schoolboy memories, and I felt sure that there was some special signification which attached to the word when so pronounced. Immediately on returning home, I took down my Liddell and Scott's Lexicon and confirmed my conjecture. In that trustworthy book of reference, it is made plain that when this word is pronounced an-a-thé-ma, it means an object of desire or devotion; while when it is pronounced a-nath'-e-ma, it means an object of scorn and of evil. The good lady, by mispronouncing the word which constituted the body of her telegram, had complimented Senator Lodge while intending to treat him with contumely.

#### FATHER DUFFY AND HIS CHURCH

Father Duffy, who made so notable a reputation as Chaplain of the 165th Regiment during the Great War

in Europe, told at the Lotos Club on the afternoon of February 6, 1924, one of the very best stories of its kind that I have ever heard. He said that it had actually happened to him a short time before.

One of his men parishioners came to him after Mass and said:

"Father, is it true that St. Peter was a Jew?" "Yes," replied Father Duffy. "Well, Father, is it true that St. Paul was a Jew?" "Certainly," said Father Duffy. "Then, Father," said the puzzled parishioner, "how in Heaven's name, if smart people like the Jews had a good thing like the Catholic Church, did they ever let them Italians get it?"

Father Duffy said that this was a typical instance of the mental content of very many of those whom he from time to time met.

#### A TALK WITH SAMUEL INSULL

On returning from California after the Grove Play of 1924, I fell in with Samuel Insull, President of the Commonwealth Edison Company of Chicago, on the Twentieth Century Limited, leaving Chicago for New York on Sunday, August 10. He came to my compartment and spent a large part of the afternoon, during which time he told me these very interesting stories:

Not long before, he had visited Lord Haldane at his country place near Perth and had learned from Haldane the circumstances of his accepting the Lord Chancellorship in the Cabinet of Ramsay MacDonald. It seems that MacDonald appealed to Haldane as the only available man for this great office, but that before accepting it Haldane had made stiff terms both as to his administration of the office itself and as to his general political influence in the Cabinet. The substance of these terms was that he

was not to be tied down by the routine duties of the Lord Chancellorship, but was to delegate as much as possible of these to others. On the other hand, he was to be distinctly the power behind the throne in the new government and, while not obtruding his name or personality in a way that would invite attack from Ramsay Mac Donald's more extreme Socialist supporters, he would, nevertheless, be the controlling power. Insull thought, and I agreed with him, that this relationship might well explain the large measure of success which the Ramsay Mac Donald government had, since Haldane was one of the most astute and open-minded of political advisers.

From this subject, Mr. Insull passed to Governor Lowden and his peremptory declination of the Republican nomination for the vice-presidency, which had been tendered him by unanimous vote of the Cleveland Convention in June of that year. I told Mr. Insull of my talk with Lowden when we were together at the Lincoln dinner at Utica, New York, on February 12, and his then expressed unwillingness to accept the vice-presidency, if tendered. Insull said that he knew of this determination on Lowden's part and that he also knew beyond any doubt that it was due to Lowden's conviction that the Republican ticket would have no chance in the election of 1924. He then told me that some attention should be given to the ill effect of a story that was being circulated in Chicago and vicinity, that Coolidge was afflicted with a mortal disease and could not live very long. He said that this was being whispered about in harmful fashion and ought to be stopped or counteracted.

He next related a most interesting story, in much detail, of how and why George Brennan, the leader of the Democrat organization in Illinois, had fought McAdoo to a finish at the New York Convention of that year. It appears

that at bottom this was an old-fashioned Irish clan feud and that George Brennan represented the Sullivan clan, which felt that its leader, the late Roger Sullivan, had been badly treated by the Wilson administration, owing to McAdoo's influence. Despite the fact that it was through Roger Sullivan's assistance that Wilson was nominated at Baltimore in 1912, it seems that for some reason McAdoo interposed himself between Wilson and Sullivan and weakened Sullivan's prestige and authority in Illinois. So deep was the feeling that when Roger Sullivan died and Woodrow Wilson telegraphed Mrs. Sullivan an expression of his sympathy, Mrs. Sullivan exclaimed to those about her, "He might at least have saved us that insult." Out of all this grew George Brennan's violent antipathy to McAdoo, which was the controlling influence in preventing McAdoo's nomination at New York in July. Such are the intricacies of politics.

Insull then told me that Hearst was repeating with John W. Davis the attempt to dicker for a Cabinet position in return for support, which he had tried with the friends of Cox after the San Francisco Convention of 1920. The approach on this subject in 1920 was made to George White of Ohio during his visit to the Hearst ranch at Pleasanton, California, after the adjournment of the Democrat National Convention. It was then in conversation that Mrs. Hearst asked White to secure from Governor Cox a pledge that, if elected, he would appoint Hearst to be Secretary of the Navy. White was diplomatically noncommittal, and Cox never made the pledge.

Insull said that for some strange reason Hearst was dead set to be Secretary of the Navy and that he was now besieging Davis and his friends as he had besieged Cox. Insull's only explanation was that if he were Secretary of the Navy, Hearst could shake his fist at England contin-

ually and stir up that trouble between England and the United States upon which both his heart and his newspapers appear to be set.

All this was a most interesting conversation and lasted for two or three hours.

#### SARGENT'S PORTRAIT OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

This anecdote relative to Sargent, I heard from Isaac Hoover, the extraordinary head usher at the White House, while stopping there in 1926 as the guest of President and Mrs. Coolidge. On the morning before my departure, Hoover and I were walking through the public rooms discussing the various portraits of presidents that hang there. We stood before Sargent's portrait of Theodore Roosevelt, and Hoover remarked that that portrait gave him greatest satisfaction of them all. I spoke of my preference for Healy's portrait of John Tyler, then hanging in the breakfast room. We went to see the Healy and, after standing before it a few moments, returned to the Sargent.

Hoover said: "There is a funny story about that picture. Mr. Sargent and President Roosevelt had much difficulty in finding a place where the President could properly pose. They went first out on the south portico, and Sargent objected to that. They then went into the Blue Room, and Sargent objected to that. They then went into the East Room, and Sargent objected to that. Finally, the President showing great impatience, they started up the stairs and the President called back to Mr. Sargent, 'The trouble with you is, Sargent, you don't know what you want.' To which Sargent replied, 'No, the trouble, Mr. President, is that you don't know what a pose means.'

"By this time the President had reached the landing

halfway up the stairs, and, swinging sharply around, he faced Sargent, with his hand on the glass-topped newel post and shouted, 'Don't I?', to which Sargent replied, 'Don't move an inch. You've got it now. Let me sketch you.' Sargent rapidly sketched the pose and proceeded with the well-known portrait."

#### GILDER ON HENRY JAMES

I have never forgotten an exceedingly clever remark made by Richard Watson Gilder at the close of a lecture on Balzac by Henry James, which was read before the Thursday Evening Club in New York at a meeting held at the St. Regis Hotel some forty years ago. The very smart and distinguished company listened to Henry James with close attention. Gilder and I were sitting together toward the rear of the room. When the lecturer ended and while the applause was still going on, Gilder turned to me and said, "That man knows everything about novels and nothing about life."

#### BEERBOHM TREE

During one of the interesting sessions of the Conversation Club at the Hotel Bon Air, Augusta, Georgia, in 1928, Daniel Frohman told this very amusing anecdote.

It appears that Beerbohm Tree was at one time playing "Hamlet" in London with only measurable success and under a fire of criticism. Max Beerbohm asked W. S. Gilbert what he thought of Beerbohm Tree's presentation of "Hamlet." Gilbert replied, "It is funny without being vulgar."

At the dinner of the Round Table on March 30, I repeated this anecdote, and Sir Richard Paget, who was my guest, promptly countered with these two excellent stories:

He said that W. S. Gilbert remarked of Beerbohm Tree's "Hamlet" that it would be perfectly easy to settle the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy by having Tree give his presentation over the grave of each and seeing which man turned.

To illustrate Tree's egotism, he said that on one occasion he came out of the club and got into a cab. The driver said, "Where to, sir?" "Home," replied Tree. "But I do not know where your home is, sir." "Do you expect a man like me to tell a common man like you where I live?" was Tree's response.

#### HORACE AT THE CENTURY

These verses were read at the monthly meeting of the Century Association, February 1, 1930, following the attack made on the Club in the Senate of the United States by Senator Brookhart of Iowa:

Drink deep of thy Brook, dear Hart, dear Hart,  
Keep close to the dry, dry land—  
A bitter word on thy dry, dry tongue,  
An anonymous note in thy hand,

Nor fail to stand up and expose thyself,  
That all of the world may see  
What a marvelous place the Senate now is  
To advertise Things like Thee!

They were stated to have been written on asbestos and found in the funeral urn of a Roman centurion near the ancient Senate Chamber in the Forum. They were ascribed to the poet Horace, about 30 B.C.

#### DOCTOR EINSTEIN IN NEW YORK

In the month of December, 1930, the ship upon which Doctor Albert Einstein of Berlin was travelling from Ger-

many to California via the Panama Canal stopped for a few days in New York. Mayor Walker was very anxious that Doctor Einstein should be formally received at the City Hall and given the freedom of the city. The Mayor asked me to call for Doctor and Frau Einstein and bring them to City Hall for the purpose. This I did. When we reached the City Hall we found the Council Chamber packed to capacity with an interesting and representative audience. I presented Doctor Einstein in a few words to the Mayor, who then stepped forward to greet him and to offer him the freedom of the city.

The Mayor's remarks were very clever and most appropriate. At their close he said, looking Doctor Einstein straight in the face and holding out his right hand: "Doctor Einstein, it is my privilege on this occasion to offer you the keys to the City of New York; but, Doctor Einstein, the City of New York has no keys. Therefore,"—putting out his hand to the distinguished guest—"I can only give them to you—relatively!"

I am not sure that this bit of wit was appreciated by the famous visitor.

#### CARDINAL GIBBONS

A woman, whose curiosity was greater than her tact, once asked Cardinal Gibbons how far he thought the infallibility of the Pope extended. Cardinal Gibbons, with the very slightest smile on his face, quietly answered: "Madam, that is not an easy question. All I can say is that a few months ago in Rome His Holiness called me 'Jib-bóns.'" The subtlety of this reply was probably lost on the inquirer.

## VII

### REPEAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

THE only amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has ever been repealed was the Eighteenth, the ratification of which was proclaimed on January 29, 1919. This Amendment was repealed by the adoption of the Twenty-first Amendment which went into effect on December 5, 1933. The Eighteenth Amendment was the result of one of those mad outbursts of emotion and passion which from time to time sweep over the American people. The Ku Klux Klan movement with its hatred and persecution of Roman Catholics and the anti-Semitic movement are two other outstanding demonstrations of this type of feeling. The abuses of the use of intoxicating liquors are obvious enough to any observer of humankind, but violent governmental prohibition of the use of such liquors is as stupid and as dangerous to public and private morals as any governmental act could possibly be. All this was obvious to me from the beginning of the agitation for Prohibition, and I never hesitated to make my convictions a matter of public statement and debate. Nevertheless, one cause added to another—particularly those growing out of the Great War of 1914-18—terrified the Congress into submitting the Eighteenth Amendment for ratification and

brought about that ratification within a very short time.

For more than forty years, and until the pressure upon my time and thought made the practice no longer possible for me, I went to Washington to sit in the Supreme Courtroom whenever a case of outstanding constitutional importance or one affecting the underlying principles of our social and economic system was called for argument. After Chief Justice White became a member of the Supreme Court he kindly arranged that on such occasions I should have a place within the bar where I could not only hear clearly the argument of counsel, but, what was as interesting, watch the expression on the faces of the judges as they listened to the conflicting arguments presented to them. It was in this way that I heard the first income tax cases argued in 1895 by Joseph H. Choate and William D. Guthrie; the case affecting the inheritance law of Illinois in 1898 argued by Benjamin Harrison; the first insular cases argued in 1901 by Frederic R. Coudert, Jr. and John G. Carlisle; the Northern Securities Case argued in 1903 by John G. Johnson; the case involving the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company argued in 1905 by William D. Guthrie; the case involving the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company argued in 1910 by John G. Milburn and John G. Johnson; and, finally, the case involving the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment argued in 1920 by Elihu Root.

At the close of Root's argument a most dramatic incident took place. I had assumed that every word which counsel spoke was recorded stenographically, but to my surprise, found later that this was not the case. Root's closing sentences, however, made so profound an impression upon me and were so burned into my memory that I can never forget them. After a careful and somewhat lengthy argument upon his printed brief, Root reached

the end of what he had to say at 4:24 P.M. Looking up at the clock above the head of the Chief Justice, he saw that six minutes remained before the hour when the Court would rise for the day. It evidently passed through his mind that the psychological effect of his argument would be better if he himself occupied the remaining six minutes of time rather than to permit any other argument, which could not possibly be advanced very far, to be begun. Closing his brief and drawing himself up to his full height, Root stretched out his forefinger toward the Chief Justice and, speaking with deep emotion, concluded with almost exactly these words:

“If Your Honors shall find a way to declare this so-called Amendment to the Federal Constitution valid, then the Government of the United States as it has been known to us and to our forefathers will have ceased to exist. Your Honors will have discovered a new legislative authority hitherto unknown to the Constitution and quite untrammelled by any of its limitations. You will have declared that two-thirds of a quorum of each House of the Congress, plus a majority of a quorum in each of the two Houses of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, may enact any legislation they please without any reference to the limitations of the Constitution, including the Bill of Rights itself. In that case, Your Honors, John Marshall need never have sat upon that bench.”

The hour of 4:30 had arrived. The Court rose and the assembled audience melted away. They had heard a really great utterance on behalf of American constitutional government and American liberty.

Some months afterward, I was taking lunch, as I often did, with Chief Justice and Mrs. White at their home in Washington. We three were alone. The conversation turned on many things when suddenly the Chief Justice

said: "I do not think I have seen you since you came down to hear the Prohibition Amendment cases argued."

I said, "No, Chief Justice, I have not been here since then."

With a suspicion of a smile at the corners of his mouth, the Chief Justice added, "I do not think that you liked our decision."

I replied, "Well, Chief Justice, had you not mentioned the matter, it would not have been becoming in me to speak of it, but since you have given me this opportunity, I must say to you in all seriousness that, in my judgment, your Court in rendering that decision struck a more powerful blow at the Constitution of the United States than all the radicals have been able to do since the Government was founded."

The expression of the Chief Justice became deeply serious. His eyes filled with tears and, speaking with profound feeling, he said, "I agree with you entirely, but what were we to do?"

The explanation of this extraordinary remark by the Chief Justice was that during the later years of his life and public service he was in mortal terror lest the rising tide of radicalism should be able to diminish or to sweep away the authority of the United States Supreme Court as an independent and essential part of the Government of the United States. He took note of every antagonistic or critical utterance relative to the Court by whomsoever made, and he was literally terrified lest a growing spirit of revolution should weaken or destroy the fundamental principles which the Court represented and betokened.

When I left the courtroom at the end of Root's argument I determined, if the court rejected his argument, to devote such time and strength as I could command to securing the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment which

he had so vigorously attacked. My first public address in opposition to the Amendment was made in California in the July following. At that time I stated that, knowing the temper of the American people, I felt sure they would resent—without regard to what their attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment may have been—any attempt to repeal it until there had been opportunity to see how it might work in practice. Therefore, I contented myself with a public announcement of my position and added that it would be three years before I should return to any public discussion of the subject. Many of my friends assured me that I was feeble-minded even to dream that the American people would repeal this Amendment, no matter how obnoxious and dangerous it might be. They kept telling me that it would be far easier and more popular to violate the Amendment openly and secretly than to urge its repeal. I did not think so. Moreover, I myself complied strictly with the law, and alcoholic liquor was not served in my house from that time until the Amendment was repealed. That fact of itself, which became known throughout the West, ensured a much more favorable reception of my argument for repeal than would otherwise have been likely.

After nearly four years of waiting, I opened my attack upon the Eighteenth Amendment at a meeting of the Missouri Society in the City of New York on April 29, 1924. That speech was broadcast throughout Missouri and started a genuine storm. Its title was: "Prohibition Is Now a Moral Issue,"<sup>1</sup> and its opening paragraph was as follows:

The time has fully come to speak one's mind on the subject of the shocking and immoral conditions which have been brought

<sup>1</sup>*The Faith of a Liberal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), pp. 271-82.

about by the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and by the legislation enacted pursuant to the provisions of that Amendment. That the Amendment itself is not only a violation of the principles upon which our Government rests, but a revolutionary departure from them, is generally admitted. It is defended on the ground that it served an overmastering moral purpose. It is necessary to examine the results from the point of view of public and private morals.

I concluded that argument with these words:

With all this experience before them, those who remain satisfied to demand the enforcement of a demonstrably unenforceable law must accept responsibility for being the silent partners of the bootlegger and a powerful contributing cause to that spirit of lawlessness which threatens the foundations of our whole social and political order.

I was sorry to make this first speech in New York, because I wanted particularly to make it in the Middle West. The only arrangement which was practicable, however, was the one which I followed and which gave me a Middle Western audience. From that time on I spoke in state after state all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Canadian line to the Gulf of Mexico. A great many of those who afterward became identified with the movement for repeal at that time sharply opposed my argument and criticized my position. This was particularly true of weak-kneed Republican politicians who, while themselves daily violating the Eighteenth Amendment, upheld and extolled it in their public utterances. As time passed the violations of law and of public and private morality because of the use of alcoholic liquors increased by leaps and bounds. Here and there some person of importance began to screw up courage and to say a word or two in criticism of the Amendment, but for the most part silence was thought to be golden.

When the Republican National Convention met at Cleveland in 1924, there was anxious expectation that I would propose the Eighteenth Amendment for discussion in connection with the platform. The time was not ripe for this, however; although the consumption of liquor during the sessions of the Convention by delegates who were vocally devoted to the cause of Prohibition was quite extraordinary. By this time the upholders of the Amendment began to take notice of the fact that the opposition to it was growing by leaps and bounds. It was this, no doubt, which led to their campaign of abuse and vilification which, while it apparently gave them great satisfaction, only hastened and strengthened the movement for repeal. During this period I received more than 22,000 letters from all parts of the United States and from all sorts and kinds of people. About 9,000 of these letters were abusive to the point of blackguardism. The worst were written by women and by ministers of churches which called themselves Christian—not infrequently on the official stationery of the church. Some fifty or sixty of these letters were unmailable under the law because of the character of what their envelopes contained. Any one who might wish to see the American people at their worst need only examine these letters. Very many of them I answered, but always in a spirit of more or less detached reflection upon their contents. This method of dealing with this correspondence, it appeared, made the writers of these letters still more angry and still more abusive. However, there was nothing that they could do about it.

As the struggle for repeal approached its successful close, a clergyman living in a small town in North Dakota announced to his congregation that he had discovered the

reason for my wicked and immoral attitude in support of the liquor traffic and in opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment. This reason, he said, was that my wife had seven million dollars invested in breweries and distilleries, and because of that, in defiance of public morality and the public welfare, I was trying to defend her property. This interesting statement found its way into the Western press and was brought to my attention by a number of different persons. Finally, another clergyman wrote to me from Kansas to say that he had now learned the explanation of my wickedness, and sent me a copy of this interesting statement. He, however, made the mistake of asking me what answer I had to make to this charge. This gave me opportunity to send him this reply:

Reverend and dear Sir:

In reply to your inquiry as to the truth of the statement which has been publicly made in the state of Kansas that my insistence upon the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is due to the fact that my wife has seven million dollars invested in breweries and distilleries, I can only say that I find it impossible to answer your question because women are so secretive.

I heard no more from that particular correspondent.

Convincing, if pathetic, evidence of what was going on in communities which professed ardent faith in Prohibition is well illustrated by the following printed announcement, which was to be found in the summer of 1924 under the glass top of the dressing table in every room of one of the best known hotels on the Pacific Coast.

#### A SPECIAL APPEAL TO GUESTS

The Federal Prohibition Director demands our cooperation in the matter of the use of liquor in our hotel and notice has been served on all hotels of the risk taken and the penalty of closing if we are found to be evading the law.

Our rules, requiring gentlemen not accompanied by their wives to entertain their lady friends in the public parlor, and ladies not accompanied by their husbands to not entertain gentlemen in their bed rooms, is going to be enforced without fear or favor.

Any guest who is being disturbed by offensive drinking parties or the abuse of privileges granted by the hotel should promptly report same to the clerk on duty.

We shall have at all times on duty a special officer who will be clothed with police authority to enforce the rules with reference to liquor traffic and the other objectionable features referred to above. We are asking the support of our guests to make our hotel one of perfect service and the elimination of all things to which we are calling attention to enable us to properly obey the law and relieve us of unnecessary criticism.

—————, Manager

Interest in the movement for Repeal grew with great rapidity throughout the nation, and each repetition of the argument for Repeal was welcomed by increasingly large and approving audiences. This movement reached its climax when at the invitation of the Roosevelt Club of Boston a public debate between Senator Borah of Idaho and myself on the question of Repeal was held in Symphony Hall, Boston, on April 8, 1927. The question offered us for debate was: "Should the Republican National Platform of 1928 Advocate the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment?" I have since seen no reason to alter or to weaken the argument which I then advanced, and doubtless Senator Borah had the same feeling with respect to his argument. We were in agreement on one very important aspect of this matter—we both asserted that the question at issue was not a "wet" or a "dry" question, but a governmental question without the proper conception and solution of which there could be no orderly, regulated life for our people. The debate was listened to by

a huge audience and reported at great length by the newspapers throughout the country. It was one of the conditions of the invitation to this discussion that no decision as to its merits should be made either by the presiding officer or by the audience. The conflicting arguments, therefore, went their own way without decision as to which was preferred by those who first heard them. These arguments provoked, of course, almost unlimited debate and led to another huge correspondence. It was plain to me that the admirable publicity which this debate obtained notably advanced the cause of Repeal.

When the Republican National Convention of 1928 was gathering at Kansas City, the situation had sufficiently changed to justify those of us who were insisting on the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in bringing the subject forward for discussion in that Convention. The group in charge of the Convention were determined that there should be no public debate on this subject if they could possibly prevent it. The resolution which I offered for reference to the Committee on Resolutions went to that Committee without debate, but was given a hearing at which both former Senator Wadsworth and I appeared in its support. The Committee paid no attention to it, however, but instead included in the appallingly long and diffuse platform an acceptance of the Eighteenth Amendment and a demand for its observance and vigorous enforcement. I was allowed five minutes in which to read and to support an amendment to the platform, substituting for this declaration reaffirmation of fundamental principles of Republican Party policy as stated in the platforms of the conventions which nominated Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and James G. Blaine in 1884, and asking the earliest possible repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. At the end of my remarks a delegate from Maine who was

the son of Neil Dow, an original Prohibitionist of half a century earlier, moved to lay my motion on the table. The ayes were more numerous than the noes, but the vote was much closer than I had expected it to be.

It was this convention which definitely put the Republican Party on the side of the Eighteenth Amendment. That fact, coupled with other and grievous shortcomings in the field of economic and social policy, resulted in the overwhelming defeats of 1932 and 1936. The attitude of the Republican National Convention in 1932 on this subject was quite shocking. The Committee on Resolutions reported a long, verbose plank dealing with this matter which was intended to please the Prohibitionists and to carry the struggle over at least one more Presidential election. A minority report which I had shared in preparing and which I supported would have brought this question to an end so far as the Republican Party was concerned. There were votes enough in that convention to adopt the minority report, but even while the roll was being called three members of the Cabinet as well as one of the chief legal advisers to the Republican National Committee were engaged in bringing pressure upon the delegates to vote to sustain the majority report. They offered, as I happen to know definitely, political threats of a very compelling kind. That ended the struggle within the Republican Party organization so far as I was concerned.

In the February following, the Twenty-first Amendment which repealed the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted by Congress to conventions held in the several states. Two states only—North Carolina and South Carolina—voted against ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment. Michigan, the first state to ratify, voted on April 10, and Utah, the thirty-sixth state, on December 5. Maine, the thirty-seventh state to ratify, held its con-

vention on December 6. It took less than eight months to accomplish this overturn, so firmly convinced were the people of the United States that the Eighteenth Amendment had been a tragic and immoral blunder. The fight for Repeal was then successfully over.

During this long contest I had drawn and made public a plan for state liquor traffic control to follow upon the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. In part that plan has been accepted, but not with completeness. It is the end toward which supporters of governmental action that will aid the cause of real temperance should persistently work.

## VIII

### AMERICAN POLITICAL PROBLEMS STILL UNSOLVED

**F**OR two generations it has been characteristic of the American democracy to avoid facing most important problems of political policy, until, for one reason or another, these gain emotional value, and so come to make an appeal to which the office-seeking and office-holding class will listen. The result is that many most important problems affecting the welfare of the American people have gone and are still going unanswered, because of the lack of foresight and courage in the formulation of public policy. This was not the case in the earliest years of our country's history. It was characteristic of Washington, of Hamilton, of Jefferson, of Madison, of Marshall, as well as of their chief associates, to look forward and to prepare with foresight and wisdom to meet conditions which they saw must certainly arise. The lack of foresight and of quick action on the part of the modern democracies is a frequent subject of sarcastic comment and criticism by dictators and those who support them.

For nearly a half-century one after another of such problems has aroused my own interest and has led to constant endeavor to bring them to the attention of the Federal Government, with a view to securing action. The

more important of these problems are those which I am now to mention.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES

Ever since the Era of Discovery began some five hundred years ago when Spain and Portugal, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands set out to discover and to claim new lands and to have permanent relations with their inhabitants, the question of how such dependencies should be governed has been a pressing one. It remains so today. On the whole, Great Britain has been more successful than any other European nation in dealing with this problem. In the British Commonwealth of Nations, brought into existence by the Statute of Westminster in 1931, there was set up a quite ideal organization of what had once been dependencies but which had reached the same high plane of civilization as the mother country. However, there still remains for Great Britain the question of how best to deal with India and with the many small and isolated colonies which obviously could not be incorporated in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

This problem first presented itself to the American people when Alaska was purchased in 1867. It was solved by giving Alaska the same territorial form of government that already existed for those parts of the nation on the main continent which had not yet been organized into states of the Federal Union. A like policy was followed when the Hawaiian Islands were acquired. I did my best to prevent this and to have the Hawaiian Islands differently treated. However, Senator Cullom of Illinois, who was at that time chairman of the committee to draft a system of laws for the Hawaiian Islands and afterward chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, had visited Honolulu and promised the people territorial

status. That settled the matter. Action in regard to both Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands was taken without any very careful or prolonged study of the problems which might—or perhaps must—arise in the future.

Following the Spanish War the American government had to find answer to the question of how to deal with the Philippine Islands and with Puerto Rico. It was then that serious discussion of this subject began. It seemed to me to be of such large importance and as likely to have so great significance in future years that I addressed to President McKinley this letter:

To the President  
Executive Mansion  
Washington, D. C.  
My dear Mr. President:

September 14, 1898

Despite the kindly suggestions of yourself and of Mr. Porter that I should feel free at any time to address you on matters of public interest, I have up to this time refrained from doing so, knowing well that you were deluged with advice and opinions from every quarter. Inasmuch, however, as it is apparent that your policy as to the Philippines is on the point of definite and final formulation, I ask the privilege of submitting the following brief opinion, which represents not only my own views, but those of many others, intelligent and representative men, with whom I have conversed during the past few weeks.

I am a convert to the opinion that we should retain, for the present at least, the whole of the Philippine Islands; retain them, that is, in the sense of becoming responsible for them. Like many others, I have come to this conclusion slowly and after an examination of the question from every possible point of view that is open to one who has not in his possession the confidential information of the Administration.

I find that there is a widespread sentiment to the effect that whatever the technical fact may be, the real facts are that we have overthrown Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, and have, thereby, become responsible for their control and orderly

administration. I am confident, further, that the American people do not wish to count too closely the cost of bearing this responsibility. It is everywhere admitted that through your successful conduct of the war, we have entered upon a new plane of foreign policy, and that hereafter the expense of our military and naval establishments will be greatly increased. This is everywhere accepted without demur, and so far as I can observe, without antagonism or serious criticism.

Further, it is, in my view, possible to use our control of the Philippines in the interest of the final solution of the eastern question, and for the promotion of the world's peace. I am confidentially advised by a correspondent in Germany, of what is of course known to you long since through official channels, that the German foreign office would like a foothold in the Philippines, and in return therefor will make to us trade concessions that are most desirable. Just at present a large portion of the public is, rightly or wrongly, so exasperated at Germany that a negotiation of this kind would not be likely to find general support. In the course of time, however, perhaps after a few months only, something of this kind could be accomplished, with the result that our exports to Germany and to German colonies would be greatly increased and German pride would be assuaged in a manner that would be very inexpensive to us.

It is also worthy of consideration that in undertaking the control of the Philippines and Puerto Rico we raise our domestic politics to a new level, and carry forward the political education of our people by forcing them into a consideration of new and large problems in which the world is interested and of which other civilized nations have had much experience to contribute to us. The result can only be, as I see it, the enlargement of our national sympathy, the development of a broader human interest and the elevation of our domestic politics. I have been saying for weeks—and I earnestly believe it—that the solution of the problems forced upon us by the war will contribute to the better municipal government of New York. Paradoxical as this may sound at first, it is profoundly true because of the influence of these new problems and policies upon men's standards and ideals. The country is today being educated to a new reliance upon the trained and efficient servants by the marvellous

prowess of the navy, and by the fact that you are sending to Cuba and Puerto Rico as subordinate administrative officers not political place seekers, but men trained in finance, in postal administration and in sanitary care. The development of a colonial policy by the United States, if carried forward on the right lines, will provide a new career for many young men, patriotic and well educated, who are anxious and willing to serve the Government to the best of their capacity, in subordinate administrative posts. There is no reason why we should not do in Puerto Rico and the Philippines what England has done for Egypt during the last fifteen years. It has been my good fortune to study that administration on the ground, and I can bear personal testimony to the fact that it is one of the great achievements of modern civilization.

By developing the resources of these new possessions of ours, we can make them pay the cost of their own redemption as well as furnish many of the individuals necessary to effect it—the executive control of all great places and departments being always in the hands of expert officials selected by the President of the United States.

I sincerely hope that in the lines now laid down, there may be no thought of the time when any of our outlying possessions—Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines or even Cuba itself—shall become States of the Union. That I should regard as the beginning of the end of our present constitutional form. We should, thereby, introduce into it a dangerous and alien element, that could only work for its embarrassment and its disintegration. On the other hand, if we begin the administration of these new possessions after the analogy of the English in Egypt, and look forward to developing them economically and politically to the point where they may be governed as Canada is governed, we shall, I am confident, be on the safest and surest path. We should then have educated these peoples—even if the process should take a century—to local self-government, and the bond with our nation would be made fast through the general power of control vested in Congress, and through the administrative bond provided by the executive officers appointed from Washington.

Only my profound interest in this question, and my sincere personal regard for yourself, as well as my desire to render every

possible support to your Administration, can serve as an excuse for this already unduly long letter.

I am, dear Mr. President, with the greatest respect,

Yours sincerely,

Nicholas Murray Butler

Upon receiving it the President asked me to come to Washington to discuss the matter more in detail. When our conversations were concluded President McKinley told me that it was this letter which had definitely determined the attitude that his administration would take toward the Philippines. From time to time thereafter I brought to the attention of one President after another this problem not only of the Philippines, but also as it related to Alaska, to the Hawaiian Islands, to Puerto Rico and possibly to Cuba—but without any important result. Each President professed interest in the problem, but no one of them did anything.

When we were beginning to draft the Republican platform for the National Convention of 1916, I spoke to former President Taft and asked him whether he would not draft a plank dealing with this question to be incorporated in that platform. He replied to me in the following letter:

WILLIAM H. TAFT

New Haven, Conn.

January 31st, 1916

My dear President Butler:

I send you herewith my addresses on the Philippines, and I call your attention especially to the one I made in San Francisco before the Commonwealth Club. After reciting what the three Republican Administrations did in the Philippines by organizing and maintaining a government which improved the material, intellectual and political welfare of the Filipinos, by a universal educational system, by the making of much needed public im-

provements, roads and railroads, by the promotion of the health of the people through proper health regulation and bettering the water supply and drainage, and by the careful building of a Civil Service on the merit system of worthy, capable and trained officials knowing the people and the language, the equal of any colonial service in the world, you should denounce the succeeding Democratic Administration for seriously injuring the usefulness of the government by ruthless and unwise removals of Americans, and the substitution of other untrained Americans and of Filipinos, with a view to turning the government over to a faction of office-seeking Filipino politicians. In this way fifteen years careful, successful and most creditable work on the part of the American Government has gone for naught. The Filipino people are not ready for self-government, and are not likely to be for more than a generation. The proposal of the Democrats now to give the Islands their independence, if carried out, will lead to factional disturbance and intertribal war, and the seizure of the Islands by some foreign power. If the United States guarantees the integrity of the Islands, reserving power to enforce the guaranties of life, liberty and property and the maintenance of order, it will assume a great and burdensome responsibility to be discharged 7,000 miles away from our shores. It is a policy of scuttle and running away from a duty, of training a people in self-government, which in the declarations of McKinley, Roosevelt and myself, the country assumed to the Filipino people and to the world.

My dear Doctor, I have no time to formulate carefully the plank which you wish, and I have had but little experience in drafting a platform, but I think I have in this dictated letter indicated to you the points that ought to be covered.

Sincerely yours,  
W.M. H. TAFT

There the matter rested, despite suggestions from time to time that some action be taken concerning this question, until a remark which President Franklin Roosevelt made to me in casual conversation led me to write the letter which follows:

To the President

White House

Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

December 6, 1938

If I may tax your patience, there is a matter of very large public importance, both to our own country and to other parts of the world, to which I should like to ask you to give earnest consideration. It has to do with the permanent status of those possessions of the United States which lie outside of our continental area. I mean, of course, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The relation of these outlying possessions to the United States and its Government has been on my mind for forty years. I discussed it first with President McKinley and subsequently with Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge. It has, however, not been possible to get for this question the consideration which its importance demands.

To most people the alternative seems to lie between actual incorporation in the Government of the United States as a territory and perhaps ultimately as a state, and complete independence. My idea has long been and still is that we should put these outlying possessions in substantially the same relation to the Federal Government that the British Dominions bear to the Government of Great Britain under the terms of the Statute of Westminster, enacted in 1931. I did my best to keep the Hawaiian Islands from being given territorial status, in order that ultimately they might receive the treatment which I have just described. My hopes and plans were defeated, however, by reason of the fact that Senator Cullom of Illinois, subsequently Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, had gone to Honolulu after the Spanish War and in a public address promised the Hawaiian people territorial status. Since Alaska had already been given that status, the way was paved for development in what I believed then and believe now to be a wrong direction.

The case of Puerto Rico is still more significant. There is a very strong and rather vexatious movement there for complete separation from the United States. Of this I became cognizant

when I visited the Island two years ago and had the privilege and honor of addressing the Legislature at San Juan.

In my judgment, it is certain that there will always be pressure, so long as present conditions exist, for first territorial status and eventual statehood, or for complete separation and independence. In my judgment, permanent territorial status and the possibility of eventual statehood ought not to be considered for a moment. Imagine, if one can, such an election as we had in 1876 or in 1916 and the whole people waiting for the returns from Alaska, Hawaii or Puerto Rico, which would finally settle the question of the Presidency! Plainly, public opinion would not submit to a situation of that kind more than once. On the other hand, if these principalities are given complete independence, they become new and so-called sovereign units in the economic and political life of a world which is steadily endeavoring to become more completely unified rather than more multiform. Questions of monetary policy, of tariff, and of all sorts and kinds of local legislation would constantly arise and be difficult, if not impossible, of solution. Therefore, it is my carefully considered judgment that we should, without farther delay, set to work upon a plan to incorporate these outlying dependencies in a group which would have complete local self-control subject to the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, to final appeal to the United States Supreme Court and to the administrative authority of the President of the United States.

The result of such a plan would be that each of these outlying dependencies would have all the benefits of separation and independence, and yet all the advantages of group membership and group action under the general kindly guidance and protection of the Government of the United States. I think it quite likely that before very long Cuba would itself seek a similar status, were that status provided for the Hawaiian Islands, for the Philippine Islands, for Puerto Rico and for the Virgin Islands. Personally, I should be glad if a way might be found to provide the same status for Alaska, but for geographic and topographic reasons that might prove to be extremely difficult.

I can assure you, Mr. President, that with me this is no new subject of thought and study. It is the outgrowth of a letter which I wrote to President McKinley under date of September

14, 1898, which he told me became the basis of his policy in the matter of the Philippine Islands and of Puerto Rico when the Spanish War was ended. In the present troubled state of the world it is important to remove all possible causes of friction, and, in view of what is going on in the form of economic penetration from Germany and from Japan, it seems to me that we should not delay in offering to these dependencies such a solution of the problem of their relationship to the Federal Government as I have just outlined.

May I not ask that you give very earnest thought to this problem?

I am, with highest regard,

Always faithfully yours,  
Nicholas Murray Butler

The President's reply, which he has kindly given me permission to print, was as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

December 20, 1938

My dear Dr. Butler:

Your very interesting letter of December 6 on the subject of a permanent status for the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands has had my attention.

The fact that you have had this matter in your thoughts and have discussed it with my predecessors over a period of four decades is in itself suggestive and indicative of the difficulty of the problem,—indeed of the many problems, involved. The subject is, I quite agree, a matter of great importance, and I assure you that I have been giving and shall continue to give it my earnest consideration.

I note that your plan would include the Philippine Islands. This, I believe, should not be within the realm of consideration, for the Congress of the United States in the Act of March 24, 1934 laid down the terms and conditions under which the Philippines are to become an independent state on July 4, 1946. Those terms and conditions are now in the process of fulfillment

and it would not, therefore, seem appropriate to include the Philippines in a study of the problem.

Please be assured that I greatly appreciate your bringing the problem to my attention.

With cordial regards—always, I am

Yours sincerely,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

My answer to his letter was this:

To the President  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

December 22, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

Your letter of December 20 has been read with much interest.

It will be a great piece of constructive statesmanship to solve in some such way as I have proposed, the questions involved in fixing a permanent status for the outlying territories which are called our dependencies.

I knew, of course, of the Act of Congress of March 24, 1934 in reference to the Philippine Islands, but long before July 4, 1946 comes, the Philippine Islands are going to agitate for a very different relationship to the Government of the United States from that which the Act of Congress in question proposes.

With cordial greeting and all the compliments of the Season,  
I am

Faithfully yours,  
Nicholas Murray Butler

It will be seen that what I have in mind is some such development as has taken place in the history of Great Britain. It seems to me that Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico might be related to the Federal Government substantially as the Dominion of Canada is related to the Government of Great Britain. Such a relationship would give the citizens of those parts of the world self-government, and at the same time the stability and protection which their relationship to the

Government of the United States would assure. The alternative would appear to be constant pressure to give to these dependencies first territorial status and then admission to the Union. This policy would, in my judgment, be a gravely mistaken one both from the viewpoint of the inhabitants of these dependencies and from that of the American people. Imagine, if one can, as I pointed out to President Franklin Roosevelt in my letter of December 6, 1938, a Presidential election such as that of 1876 or of 1916 with the whole nation waiting for the final returns from a remote island in the Philippines or from a small settlement in the Arctic region!

#### CABINET OFFICERS IN CONGRESS

An important happening in the history of the government of the United States has long since been forgotten. This was the report submitted to the Senate on February 4, 1881, by a select committee of which Senator Pendleton of Ohio was chairman, proposing the following amendment to a pending bill (S. 227) to provide that the principal officer of each of the executive departments may occupy a seat on the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives. This committee proposed that the pending measure be amended in these words:

That the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General shall be entitled to occupy seats on the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives, with the right to participate in debate on matters relating to the business of their respective departments, under such rules as may be prescribed by the Senate and House respectively.

Sec. 2. That the said Secretaries, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General shall attend the sessions of the Senate

on the opening of the sittings on Tuesday and Friday of each week, and the sessions of the House of Representatives on the opening of the sittings on Monday and Thursday of each week, to give information asked by resolution, or in reply to questions which may be propounded to them under the rules of the Senate and House; and the Senate and House may, by standing orders, dispense with the attendance of one or more of said officers on either of said days.

This simple but far-reaching proposal was accompanied by a most admirable report and arguments in its support. Moreover, it was signed by the entire membership of the select committee, consisting of four Democrat senators and four Republican senators, each one of whom was a man of unusual authority and influence. These were Senators Pendleton of Ohio, Allison of Iowa, Voorhees of Indiana, Blaine of Maine, Butler of South Carolina, Ingalls of Kansas, Platt of Connecticut and Farley of California. Eight more important men could not be found in the Senate of that day.

The purpose of this proposal was of course, without altering in any respect the organization of the Federal Government as established by the Constitution, to gain for that Government in its operation some of the obvious advantages of the parliamentary system of Great Britain. The argument which accompanied the report has today great interest and value. It cited happenings in the history of the Congress, beginning in 1789, illustrative of the working of this proposal. By adopting the plan proposed in that report, we could secure all the advantages of the parliamentary systems of Great Britain and of France without any alteration of our own constitutional form. The executive and the legislative branches of the government would be brought into closer understanding of each other's methods and purposes without in the least trench-

ing upon the independence and authority of either. Incidentally, the introduction of this system would tend to bring men of high type into cabinet office, for only such men, with administrative ability and full knowledge of their departmental business, could long sustain themselves before either House of Congress. Moreover, if there might be introduced at Washington the system of regularly asking questions of the executive branch of the government on the floor of the legislature, as the adoption of this proposal would make possible, very many things that are now badly done would be better done and very many things that the public does not now understand would be made clear.

The Congress of the United States could take no single step toward improving the efficiency of our governmental organization that would be followed by such admirable and quickly realized results as to adopt the recommendation of the report of the Senate select committee of February 4, 1881, of which Senator Pendleton of Ohio was chairman.

My own interest in this proposal has extended over more than fifty years. Time and time again I have brought it to the attention of senators and members of the House of Representatives. At least a half-dozen times during these fifty years I have persuaded some senator to have the report either referred to or printed in the *Congressional Record*. The first step toward the accomplishment of this most important reform remains to be taken. Reorganization of the executive departments of the government and the understanding and control of budget proposal would be greatly aided were this system in operation. Surely so far-reaching and so fundamental a reform, which can be achieved in so simple and quick a fashion, should not be longer postponed.

## SINGLE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

My attention was first drawn to this subject when reading the history of our Civil War. Its importance was greatly increased when in later years I read the very illuminating story of the details of that war as seen by a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, his Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles of Connecticut, who lived until 1878.<sup>1</sup> Later on, John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, who was Secretary of War both in the Cabinet of President Harding and in that of President Coolidge, discussed the matter with me in great detail and was most insistent that the relations between the army and the navy must in the public interest be quickly improved. He saw but one way to accomplish that, which was to establish a single Department of National Defense, with an Under Secretary for the Army, an Under Secretary for the Navy and an Under Secretary for the Air Force. Secretary Weeks told many stories which were certainly extraordinary in revealing the rivalry and friction which had grown up between the several separate military establishments. Each one of them, he said, maintained a well organized and effective lobby which operated on both Houses of Congress through the committees having the initiative in respect to legislation regarding those departments of public service. Weeks said that time and time again these lobbies had controlled appointments to vacancies on these committees, thereby gaining almost commanding influence over appropriations, which he said were in many cases wholly unnecessary and most extravagant. He asked me to take an interest in this question and to present it from time to time to those members of Congress with whom I happened to have close acquaintance. He even went so far

<sup>1</sup>*Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1911, 3 vols.).

as to suggest that I should get together a group which would start a definite movement to substitute for the War Department and the Navy Department as now constituted a single Department of National Defense, with the three Under Secretaries which I have mentioned.

Under the pressure of necessity and with the lessons of the Great War of 1914-18 before them, a number of governments, including those of Great Britain, of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Russia and of Japan, have either taken this step in some form or have given clear evidence of the wisdom of doing so.

So far as a War Department is concerned, its name should be discontinued no matter what else happens. Since it is now the supreme law of the land that war is renounced as an instrument of national policy, the continued maintenance of a War Department must be either through oversight or hypocrisy. An army of some sort every nation certainly must have, just as every community must have its police force, but a War Department has become an anachronism, and the name should disappear.

No stronger argument in favor of a single Department of National Defense has been made than that by Marshal Pétain.<sup>1</sup> His point of view is that of a trained soldier bent upon establishing and maintaining security for the French people in the most effective manner possible. As a substitute for the general and more or less remote control of the armed forces of the country by a Prime Minister or a President, Marshal Pétain proposed the creation of a unified Ministry of National Defense, whose chief should have authority (a) to coordinate the action of the three subdivisions having to do with the army, the navy and the air force as to all matters of large policy and strategy; (b) to frame plans for national defense and for all cam-

<sup>1</sup>*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1, 1936, pp. 5-17.

paigns to meet special situations, keeping in close touch with scientific progress as applied to any form of military or naval action; and (c) to distribute the nation's man power and credit for the support of the three forces, to harmonize their armaments and their activities and to give final decisions or counsel to the government on all matters of vital importance to the three military services.

One might think that under present conditions such a step forward in the efficiency and economy of national administration would be adopted promptly and to the great satisfaction of the members of each of the three armed forces themselves. Such, however, is not the case. Any step in this direction will be violently opposed, in Washington at least, by those who constitute and direct the very effective lobbies there installed to agitate for increased appropriations and increased authority for each of the three now separate services. Nevertheless, as dangerous conditions develop and as that war which has been renounced as an instrument of national policy continues to threaten because of the impotence of peoples to bend governments to their will, it will steadily become clearer that the policy which Marshal Pétain so strongly upholds should be adopted by the Government of the United States. If it really be the national security which is at stake, then the establishment of a single Department of National Defense, with subdepartments for the army, the navy and the air force, would greatly increase the effectiveness of the means at hand for maintaining that security. As a long step toward promoting administrative efficiency and governmental economy, it would be invaluable.

This question has recently been presented to the public in very convincing form in the book entitled *Our Military Chaos*,<sup>1</sup> written by Oswald Garrison Villard.

<sup>1</sup>New York: 1939, Alfred A. Knopf, 302 pp.

## REFORM OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY SYSTEM

The distressing and disturbing effect of the direct primary system upon party responsibility and official policy is a matter of practically universal comment and concern. Those who advocated the institution of the direct primary were undoubtedly sincere in their wish to find some way to give effective representation to public opinion, uncontrolled and undirected by small but powerful groups of well-intrenched political leaders. Theoretically, the direct primary should have operated to accomplish this purpose, but in practice its effect has been wholly different. It has almost entirely eliminated real public opinion from any controlling part in the choice of nominees, let us say, for the Senate of the United States, and has substituted for public opinion the influence of persistent, ambitious, well-organized and self-seeking groups gathered about the personality of some one completely self-centered candidate. Many candidates for high public office, particularly for the Senate of the United States, are now chosen and placed in nomination by a very small fraction of the possible vote of the constituency by which they aim to be chosen. Once placed in nomination, they appeal to party sentiment, to party tradition and to party loyalty for support, although time and again when a choice has to be made, they throw overboard party policies, party declarations and party promises, in order to draw themselves closer to some powerful local group whose support they desire. They forget that they are chosen to represent the people of the United States and assume that they represent only the dominant element of the constituency from which they are chosen. Some few years ago an analysis of the vote cast at the senatorial elections of that year throughout the country revealed the fact that 33 per cent

of the possible vote of the State was the largest percentage received by any one of the senators elected. Others received 29 per cent, 17 per cent, 13 per cent, 10 per cent and one as little as 9 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of the direct primary, the historic two-party system, under which alone representative government can be effectively carried on over any considerable period of time, has been wrecked in all but name. Party names and party membership of course survive and in many parts of the land still have a very powerful influence; but no party can now count with assurance upon receiving from representatives and senators in Congress who bear its name and who have been elected under its banner, support for the principles which the party, when it appealed to the electorate for support, pledged itself to adopt if entrusted with power. This means political chaos. Moreover, very rarely will the type of man who would accept nomination from a representative party convention be willing actively to seek that nomination by an extended personal canvas of his electorate, making all sorts and kinds of promises and pledges in order to secure the support of various influential individuals and groups. As a result, the Senate of the United States—to take the outstanding and most conspicuous example—has fallen to a plane of ability, courage and representative character far lower than ever before in our nation's history. It is of record that those members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate who bear the name Republican have not caucused together on any matter of public policy since 1908. They are quick to caucus as to their own personal committee appointments and promotions, but not as to matters affecting the public welfare through legislation to carry out party principles and party declarations.

<sup>1</sup>*The Faith of a Liberal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), pp. 99–100.

How can so unhappy and so discouraging a situation be improved? No one can wish to go back to reinstatement of the abuses which the direct primary aimed to remove, and yet it is vitally important to bring to an end the still greater abuses which are the outgrowth of the direct primary itself. May not an answer be found in that use of the direct primary which was advocated by the present Chief Justice of the United States when he was Governor of New York more than thirty years ago? In effect, what he then proposed was that the direct primary should be brought into existence as an instrument for correcting abuses of the convention system when such might take place. Let the popularly elected delegates who constitute a given party convention go forward with their work and name their party candidate. If the result be unsatisfactory to any considerable element of the party membership, or if it be brought about in a manner which gives just ground for criticism, then let the direct primary be appealed to in order that the work of the convention may be either endorsed or rejected by the vote of the enrolled members of the party in the electorate concerned. In following this course of action, candidates for high public office would be chosen by representative conventions, subject to the possible rejection of the convention's nominee and the substitution of another by direct vote of the enrolled voters themselves. By the use of this practice, it would be possible to induce a higher type of citizen than is now the case to accept nomination for public office and at the same time it would serve to prevent the control of the nominating convention against the public interest by any powerful or well-intrenched group.

Whatever may be the limitations of the convention system of nomination, it must never be forgotten that it invites and almost compels a careful consideration of the fitness as well as of the availability of the proposed can-

dicates. The direct primary system does neither, as its operation has clearly demonstrated. Already in some states the direct primary system has been either severely limited or overturned, but we have not yet adopted any nation-wide plan to improve the standards and the representative character of those proposed as candidates for high public office, particularly for membership in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States. We have still to work out "a system in which democratic control and popular leadership may prevail, using the framework of the party system as an agency for that purpose."<sup>1</sup> A major obstacle to effecting such a greatly needed reform is the conviction of those beneficiaries of the direct primary system who are now in public office that it is a divinely inspired method of discovering true statesmen.

Moreover, the whole administrative work of our government would be immensely improved were we greatly to reduce the number of minor elective offices. The people would more completely control their own government if the few important offices were filled by election and all minor offices filled through appointment by those elected. What is important in a democratic system is that the ruling principles of the government or administration be those chosen or approved by the people themselves. Therefore, they properly elect those administrative and legislative officers who are directly charged with framing and carrying out those principles. The host of minor offices, whose incumbents are now so largely chosen by election, should be filled, not by election at all, but through appointment by those who have been elected. If we could fix the public mind on this relatively simple principle, we should in a reasonable time greatly improve the effectiveness of our

<sup>1</sup>Charles Edward Merriam and Louise Overacker, *Primary Elections* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 276.

governmental administration, state, county and municipal. In the nation at large this principle has always prevailed.

#### REGULATION OF TRADE DISPUTES

An outstanding characteristic of the development of highly organized industries during the past century has been to create and to bring into public view not a few problems in which, partly through want of understanding, partly through lack of human sympathy and interest and partly through the absence of any controlling devotion to the higher forms of public service, employers and employed have found themselves ranged in opposition to each other. They have permitted the personal profit-motive to control their conduct absolutely. This situation is as unfortunate as it is unnecessary, but it has reached a point where the public interest requires that it be recognized and regulated by official public authority. Those of us who work, whether with our hands or with our brains, constitute an overwhelming proportion of the population of any modern state. Therefore, the interests of the workers, not alone their economic interests but their social and intellectual interests as well, are matters of primary and outstanding concern to the whole people. There is no good reason why industries, whether great or small, should not be so organized as to recognize the direct interest of the workers in the product of their work and to make the workers feel themselves genuine partners in the undertaking upon which they are engaged. This happy condition, however—except for a few unusual instances—still lies somewhere in the future, and we must deal with the facts as we meet them face to face.

Trade disputes are quite commonly accompanied by strikes. A strike is a form of war. It is the attempt to sub-

stitute force for reason in the settlement of a dispute. A strike is as much an act of war in the economic field as is forcible armed invasion of a neighboring state in the military field. Those of us who are opposed to military war as an instrument of national policy must also be opposed to economic war as an instrument of industrial policy. The task of getting rid of these two kinds of war is a common one, and the same spirit and ideals and methods of understanding and conciliation which are urged in the one case will serve equally well if applied in the other.

The immediate task is to bring about such an effective regulation of the methods of present-day economic war as will make it certain that the general public interest or safety is not involved, but that the attack be confined to its declared and avowed object. The ruling principle is that contained in the truly classic sentence of Calvin Coolidge which, as Governor of Massachusetts, he telegraphed on September 14, 1919, to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." These words put the whole matter in a nutshell.

Following the very grave and almost nation-wide strike of 1926 in Great Britain, Parliament placed upon the statute book the legislation known as the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927. Its enactment was bitterly opposed by members of the Labor party in Parliament, but later, when that party came into the control of the government of Great Britain, it neither repealed nor amended this very important legislation. The object of this fundamental and far-reaching statute was to draw and to make plain the distinction between legal and illegal strikes. It was not its intention or its purpose to limit the right of those who work to unite for the improvement of their

status, or to forbid their engaging in a strike in support of whatever their contention might be. Its purpose was, however, to make plain that these strikes must be confined to their definite and declared object and not be so extended as to endanger the public welfare and security. This Trade Disputes Act declares that any strike is illegal if it "has any object other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged," or if it "is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community."

A lock-out, which is a form of economic war wholly parallel to the strike, is by this act made illegal on the same terms and under precisely the same conditions.

It is of highest importance that trade unions be given definite rights which can be upheld and defended by the whole power of the state, rather than privileges which rest largely upon sentiment and which can often be upheld only at the cost of economic war. A trade union must not be made a privileged class outside the law in respect to civil liberty. Every trade union should be registered at a public office, and its financial holdings and administration should be open to public inspection. Each trade union which holds property should be incorporated and should make the annual report required by law to the appropriate public official. In these respects, the trade union is to be classed with the many other voluntary organizations in the field of liberty which are non-profit-making and which have the public welfare as their aim. These include, of course, hospitals, charitable institutions of all sorts, colleges and universities, and a host of other organizations having some form of social service as their purpose. If definite legal responsibilities are placed upon trade unions, the quality of their leadership will improve and the rack-

eteering element will be suppressed. It has been pointed out that for this very reason the labor leadership in England is of the highest quality and that labor racketeering is there quite unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Because of its far-reaching effect upon our whole economic and social system an early solution of the problem here presented is of exceptional importance. Delay in solving it provides new ammunition for those who are laboring to build up permanent class distinctions in the United States, accompanied by a class consciousness and a class ambition which might easily undermine the still strong foundations upon which the democratic system of social organization and of government has always rested and yet rests. Here in the United States this problem may be dealt with by the federal government in the case of all undertakings engaged in interstate commerce. Otherwise the necessary action must be taken by the individual states. It would be well if the American Bar Association, for example, should propose a uniform state statute on this subject as it has proposed a uniform state statute to control the evils of child labor so far as these still exist.

There is every reason to believe that the effect of a proper, a broad-minded and a public-spirited regulation of trade disputes would strengthen any move for the elevation of labor and for the improvement of the social and economic status of those who give their labor in return for wages or for salaries.

#### AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

It is astonishing that a fundamental matter of this far-reaching importance to the people should have been left in

<sup>1</sup>George E. Sokolsky, "The Irresponsibility of Labor," *The Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1935, p. 575.

its present condition for a century and a half. Perhaps the simplest way to present the subject is by reproducing the following letter, which will be found self-explanatory:

June 12, 1939

The Hon. Hatton W. Sumners  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman Sumners:

The decision just rendered by the United States Supreme Court in answer to the question whether the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which I prefer to call the Youth Control Amendment, is still pending, is so amazing and, to me, so unreasonable, that it seems of largest public importance that the Congress should without undue delay enact a statute regulating the process of constitutional amendment. It ought to be easy to do this at a time when no amendment would be affected by the statute.

As matters now stand, it would appear that no proposed amendment can ever be defeated. It must always be either adopted or regarded as still pending. This rule must then apply to the first two amendments sent out in 1789, to the one sent out in 1813, and to the one sent out on March 4, 1861, as well as to the Youth Control Amendment. Ridiculous as this statement sounds, it is inescapable if this last judgment of the Supreme Court is to be accepted.

May I suggest that your authority and leadership as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House would make it most appropriate that the important statute which I have in mind should originate from you and bear your name? If I may offer a suggestion, I should like to see such a statute contain the following provisions:

1. That the Secretary of State shall transmit each proposed constitutional amendment to the several states with a request for action and for prompt advice as to what the action may be when taken.

2. That when the Secretary of State shall have received affirmative votes from three-quarters of the states, he shall formally announce that the pending amendment has been ratified.

3. That the defeat of a motion to ratify a pending amendment by any state convention or state legislature shall be recorded as a vote to reject the amendment.

4. That when the Secretary of State shall have received negative votes from one more than one-quarter of the states, he shall formally announce that the pending amendment has been rejected.

5. That a limit of seven years be set as the time within which effective action upon a pending constitutional amendment must be taken, and that if an amendment be neither ratified nor rejected before the end of a seven year period, it shall be regarded as withdrawn from farther consideration.

Unless we can have some such statute as this upon the books, the decision which the Supreme Court has made may get us into all kinds of serious trouble during the next generation, when all sorts of constitutional amendments are likely to be brought forward.

Commending this suggestion to your kindly consideration, and with cordial greeting, I am

Faithfully yours,

Nicholas Murray Butler

It is difficult to speak with respectful patience of that decision by the United States Supreme Court to which this letter refers. It waved aside, practically without consideration, the quite unanswerable argument presented to the Court in the case cited on behalf of the State of Kentucky. It is true that in an opinion written by Justice Van Devanter in *Dillon vs. Gloss*, decided May 16, 1921, there is a careful discussion of the process of amending the Federal Constitution. This opinion calls attention to the fact that the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment to the states was the first in which a definite period for ratification was fixed. Up to that time, twenty-one amendments to the Constitution of the United States had been proposed by the Congress, and seventeen of those had been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states,

some of them within a single year after they were submitted and all of them within four years. Of the remaining four amendments submitted, each had been ratified by some of the states but none of them by three-fourths of the states. Eighty years after the submission of one of these, an effort was made to complete its ratification. The legislature of the state of Ohio passed a joint resolution to that end, but then the effort was abandoned. Two of these amendments have lain dormant for nearly a century and a half, their ratification having been approved by one less than the required number of states in each case. A third pending amendment, submitted March 2, 1861, declared:

No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any state, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said state.

The principal purpose of this proposal was to protect slavery. At the time of its submission and partial ratification, it was a subject of absorbing interest and was explicitly endorsed by President Lincoln in his first inaugural address on the day following the vote of Congress to submit it to the states. Of course, after the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, it was forgotten. The fourth of these so-called pending amendments is that for youth control—the words “child labor” having been stricken from it while it was pending in the Congress—and it has been defeated time and time again during the past few years. Nevertheless, under the principles on which this last decision of the Supreme Court rests, it is theoretically still pending. To be sure, the Court had said in the case of *Dillon vs. Gloss* that few would be able to subscribe to the view that amendments pending for so long a period as those which have been referred to could still be regarded

as pending, but, if not, why not? Does the lapse of time remove a pending amendment from farther consideration? If so, how much time? The Court indicated that the time should be reasonable, but what is reasonable time in a case of this kind? If one may judge by recent action of the Congress, seven years would appear to be a reasonable time. If so, then all four of the amendments heretofore submitted and not yet ratified are no longer pending. If this be the case, why not say so?

Moreover, the notion that a state may change its vote after a pending amendment has been defeated is too unreasonable to be even discussed. Under the rules governing ordinary parliamentary procedure, a vote may be changed while the roll is being called, but in this case when three-fourths of the states have voted in the affirmative or when one more than one-fourth of the states has voted in the negative, the roll call is *ipso facto* ended and the matter is closed.

One would have supposed that, in following the line of thought expressed in the decision of *Dillon vs. Gloss*, the United States Supreme Court would have taken this ground in its opinion in the case of *Chandler, Governor of Commonwealth of Kentucky et al. vs. Wise et al.* Instead of doing so, however, the Court went off into a vague nowhere, leaving the decision of the question at issue to the Congress of the United States.

There can be no more important question for the Congress to consider than this. The time to consider it is now, when no amendment to the Federal Constitution is pending and when the matter of procedure can be dealt with on its merits. The next few years are quite certain to see the proposal of all sorts and kinds of amendments to the Constitution of the United States, many of them extremely radical, even revolutionary, in character. It is of the

highest importance that the procedure for dealing with them be definite, clearly stated and final.

Here, then, are six matters affecting the operation of our government which make no partisan or personal or group or sectional appeal. They stand in no relation to the principles or the doctrines of any political party, whether Democrat or Republican or Socialist. They concern directly every citizen of the United States. Why, therefore, can these six problems not be quickly and constructively solved? To the cynic and the pessimist their solution would appear to be what such a one calls "a very large order," but what he really means is that pressing for the solution of any or all of these problems there is no party or personal or group or sectional interest. Must the American people face an assertion of that sort with placid contentment? Why have they not the power to compel action purely in the public interest?

This generation should read the text of the noteworthy speech made in the United States Senate on March 27, 1890, by Senator Edmunds of Vermont when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was under debate. "The citizens of the State of Vermont," said Senator Edmunds, "are no more my constituents than the citizens of the State of California, for a senator of the United States, although elected by the legislature of the state from which he comes, becomes a senator of the United States, and every human being within the broad boundaries of the Republic, from the shore of the stormy sea on the east to the tranquil one on the west, is my constituent." Let that principle and viewpoint prevail and the Congress of the United States will proceed to enact legislation in the public interest without awaiting the appearance or feeling the pressure of any organized partisan, personal or group interest.

What we have most to fear in ordering and carrying forward the social, the economic and the political life of the world in these desperately difficult days was stated in unforgettable words by General Smuts in his rectoral address at the University of St. Andrews on October 17, 1934: "The disappearance of the sturdy, independent-minded, freedom-loving individual, and his replacement by a servile, standardized mass-mentality is the greatest human menace of our times." These are profoundly true words. Mass-mentality, with its waves of unreasoning emotion and its quick turning hither and yon in pursuit of an end which it neither sees nor understands, is one of the greatest forces now at work for weakening the basis on which our civilization rests. If we can call our fellow-citizens up to the heights of independent-minded, freedom-loving individualism, we shall be on the way to the creation of a truly corporate state, because it will be composed of co-operating individuals who are free to know, to understand and to express themselves concerning everything which comes into their lives.

Once again it must be repeated that the surest way in which to build a barrier against the rising tide of compulsion, whether it take the form of Communism, of Fascism or of Dictatorship, is to make free government really work on the highest possible plane of effectiveness and solely in the largest public interest.

## IX

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS SON

**I**HAD returned from Europe in August, 1923, and gone to Manchester, Vermont, to spend a few weeks. Robert Todd Lincoln had a country home there, where he spent many months each year in the latter part of his life.

I had hardly reached the hotel when Horace G. Young, a friend of Mr. Lincoln and a former banker at Albany, New York, came to see me in a great state of excitement.

“You must see Robert Lincoln at once!” he said. “You are the only person who has any influence with him. He is going to burn a lot of his father’s papers. For God’s sake, see him at once!”

It was too late to call on Lincoln that evening, but on the following morning I went to his house to pay my respects and have a chat after a considerable absence abroad, during which time President Harding had died and Calvin Coolidge had succeeded to the presidency.

Lincoln was sitting in front of a comfortable wood fire, since the morning was chilly, reading a newspaper.

After we had talked together for a time, on glancing about the room I saw an old-fashioned trunk which was standing near one of the bookshelves.

“That looks as if you were going to travel,” I said. “Where is it to be this time?”

"Oh, no," he said, "I am not going anywhere."

"That trunk looks as if you were going somewhere," I retorted. "What is that doing in the library?"

"Well," said Lincoln quietly, "it contains only some family papers which I am going to burn."

"What are you going to do?" I said, in startled fashion. "Burn your family papers! Why, Robert Lincoln, those papers do not belong to you. Your father has been the property of the nation for fifty years, and those papers belong to the nation. That you should destroy them would be incredible. For heaven's sake, do not do anything like that!"

There followed a very excited and indeed difficult conversation, extending over an hour. I drew a long breath, however, when, at its close, Lincoln said, "All right, but no one must see them while I live."

"Very well," I said. "Then deposit them in the Library of Congress and fix a date before which they shall not be opened."

That he did. The letters, whatever they may be, are in the Library of Congress, where he had already deposited other family papers, and are not to be opened until twenty-one years after Robert Lincoln's death. This means 1947.

Why did Robert Lincoln want to burn these family letters? It has been suggested that they contain evidence of the charge which has since been made, that Secretary Stanton conspired to wreck Abraham Lincoln's policies and to bring about his murder. I cannot believe that there is the slightest ground for that statement. My own impression is that the letters contain records and evidence of various happenings in Abraham Lincoln's own life and family which it was just as well not to make public—certainly not while his son was living. Robert Lincoln never made any definite statement of this sort, but I draw the

conclusion both from some things which he said and from some things which he left unsaid.

In the very next year, my friend, Albert J. Beveridge, former senator from Indiana, who was writing his truly great life of Abraham Lincoln, heard that these letters had been sent to the Library of Congress, and he begged me to get permission from Robert Lincoln for him to read them in the preparation of his own work. I presented this request to Robert Lincoln under date of April 21, 1924:

... Albert Beveridge has asked me to inquire whether he might not have your permission to consult the Lincoln papers, both those in the Library of Congress and those in your own possession, in the course of the work upon which he is now engaged. He has, you remember, undertaken to continue the story of our constitutional history and development from the point where it broke off at the end of his four volumes of John Marshall, and to tell this story about the personality and history of President Lincoln. I have told Beveridge that I would be very glad to prefer this request of his and let him know what your answer might be.

Three days later he sent me this reply:

Your letter of the 21st instant has been duly received, and I was very glad to hear from you. I appreciate very much your kind expressions regarding my health, and am glad to be able to say that I have passed a fairly comfortable winter, although I have lived quietly, seldom visiting the clubs and playing no golf whatsoever.

The second paragraph of your letter can best be answered, I believe, by enclosing to you herewith a copy of a letter written by me to Senator Beveridge under date of January 23, 1923, and I feel sure that after you have read it you will fully appreciate my position in the matter.

The letter to Senator Beveridge under date of January 23, 1923, indicated that Beveridge had made a direct

and unsuccessful appeal to Lincoln for the use of these papers some time before he asked for my aid in the matter.

#### ROBERT LINCOLN AND HIS FATHER'S DEATH

One of Robert Lincoln's obsessions, which he never outgrew, was that he might have prevented the murder of his father by John Wilkes Booth. This was the way the matter ran in his mind. After being graduated from Harvard College, Robert Lincoln joined the Army and was on the staff of General Grant in Virginia. He was present when the surrender at Appomattox took place and was one of the group which witnessed the historic happenings of April 9, 1865, with Gen. Robert E. Lee and Gen. Ulysses S. Grant as chief actors. At the first opportunity, Robert Lincoln returned to Washington with General Grant. They arrived on the morning of April 14, and General Grant attended the Cabinet meeting on that day and gave a vivid and what must have been fascinating account of Lee's surrender.

After the Cabinet meeting, Robert Lincoln spent nearly two hours in conversation with his father, going over all the episodes in which he had taken part and explaining the various maneuvers of the armies and the characteristics of their commanding generals. At the end of the conversation, President Lincoln said that he and Mrs. Lincoln were going that night to a very interesting play, "Our American Cousin," and hoped that he would come with them. Robert replied that he would like to do so, but was so tired and fatigued with his experiences in Virginia and because of the rapid journey back to Washington, that he would prefer simply to have a bath and go to sleep for many hours. So the President excused him, and Robert was left in the White House when the party went to the theater. When Booth made his fatal attack on the Pres-

ident at a few minutes after ten o'clock that same evening, Robert Lincoln was sitting *en déshabillé* in the White House, talking with John Hay. When the news of the shooting reached him, he dashed down to the house on Tenth Street where his father lay dying, and was there when the end came at 7:22 on the following morning.

Robert's argument was that had he gone to the theater with his father and mother, he, being the youngest member of the party, would have been in the back of the box and, therefore, Booth would have had to deal with him before he could have shot the President. On this rather fantastic ground Robert Lincoln based his sad reflection that had he gone to see "Our American Cousin," his great father's life would not have come to so tragic an end.

Robert Lincoln had so great reverence for his father's memory that he spent his life under what was substantially an inferiority complex. He used to say that he was not Robert Lincoln but Abraham Lincoln's son. "No one wanted me for Secretary of War," he remarked, "they wanted Abraham Lincoln's son. No one wanted me for minister to England, they wanted Abraham Lincoln's son. No one wanted me for president of the Pullman Company, they wanted Abraham Lincoln's son." This unfortunate mental attitude darkened much of Robert Lincoln's life. He was shy and reserved, but full of human kindness and generous feeling which he often hesitated to reveal.

#### ROBERT LINCOLN WITH THE LITTLE MOTHERS

He was one of the company known as The Little Mothers, who spent a winter holiday each year at Augusta, Georgia.<sup>1</sup> This group of interesting and important men,

<sup>1</sup>See p. 423.

who were given their name in jest since they were charged with trying to take care of the whole world, was drawn from a dozen or fifteen states and included from time to time men who had been or were to be President of the United States, as well as others prominent in the public and intellectual life of the nation. With this group Robert Lincoln was very much at home, and seemed brighter and less restrained than in any other relationship. He told interesting and often amusing stories of his experiences, particularly while in the Cabinet and while minister at the Court of St. James's. His golf game was not of the best, but it was quite good enough to enable him to participate with much pleasure in the games and contests which were held at Augusta, Georgia, during the month of March each year. Three months after returning from one of these Augusta holidays, Mr. Lincoln wrote me this letter:

June 16, 1913

Your train is due (R. R. time) to pass a small station, Sunderland, at 9:05 A. M. Not far beyond it, if you will look to the left in the valley, you can see on a hillside a bright spot in the trees which is the dome of my observatory. From it I look nightly into a universe wherein there is no Referendum or Recall and only one body which is at once powerful and incalculably erratic, and though still influential upon the Tides, is said to be dead. I refer only to the Moon.

Please with Mr. Vail come to us and look at it and have a brief relaxation from political grief. Other consolations on call.

#### THE LINCOLN STATUE IN LONDON

One of the most characteristic revelations of Robert Lincoln's personality was that made in connection with the sharp controversy which developed as to which statue of his father was to be erected in London, as a gift of

American citizens, to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the peace between Great Britain and the United States established at the end of the War of 1812. A representative committee of Americans had been formed to celebrate this anniversary in various ways, but their activity was brought to an end by the outbreak of the Great War on July 28, 1914. The proposal was that this should be a copy of the statue by Saint-Gaudens which stands in Lincoln Park in Chicago. It proved to be impossible, however, to secure the necessary funds for this purpose.

Just about this time, Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, Ohio, half brother of President Taft, had by benefaction made possible the erection in Cincinnati of a new and very novel statue of Abraham Lincoln by George Grey Barnard. On being appealed to by one of the individual members of the committee in charge of the anniversary celebration, Taft generously offered to meet the cost of a copy of the Barnard statue to be set up in London. Without very much formality, the committee, or some members of it, offered this statue to the public authorities in London, by whom it was accepted. As soon as this became known in the United States, a storm broke out which lasted for months. The *Art World*, in its issues for June, August and October, 1917, and January and March, 1918, contained correspondence and editorials which were marked by most savage criticism, attacking the proposal to set up the Barnard statue in London.

This statue was attacked not only on artistic grounds but for lack of historical accuracy. The protests included the full text of a resolution adopted by the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects on February 18, 1918, to the effect that "there is ample and conclusive evidence that this statue does not adequately or correctly represent the personality of that great Amer-

ican," and that "many competent authorities, including this body, feel that the artistic and sculptural value of this work is open to question" and was, therefore, "an unsuitable and improper representation of Abraham Lincoln." This resolution was given the widest possible publicity.

The fight waged fast and furious and, of course, came to the attention of Robert Lincoln. He himself was deeply moved by what he regarded as a tragic attack on his father's memory, and addressed a very vigorous letter on the subject to former President Taft under date of March 22, 1917. Many of his friends, including Joseph H. Choate, Henry Cabot Lodge, Henry Watterson and Cyrus Townsend Brady, joined in violent protest against sending the Barnard statue to London. The situation was most embarrassing, because the Barnard statue had been tendered from the United States and, at least informally, had been accepted by representatives of the British government. Robert Lincoln then set about making it possible to offer a copy of the Saint-Gaudens statue instead of the Barnard statue. He wrote asking me to take charge of the matter, and stated that he had deposited \$25,000 with J. P. Morgan and Company, which I was at liberty to use in having made and shipped to London a copy of the Saint-Gaudens statue, provided we could secure its substitution for that by Barnard. There followed long months of correspondence and negotiation. The Great War was still raging, and men's minds in England were not chiefly concerned with memorial statues.

However, the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace took hold of the matter, and through their representatives and correspondents in Great Britain, especially Lord Weardale, carried on an organized and what proved to be effective movement to secure the substitution of the Saint-Gaudens statue for that by Barnard.

The Saint-Gaudens statue was offered to the British government by the Carnegie Endowment on behalf of the American people, and finally accepted early in December, 1918. By December, 1919, this statue, which had been transported to England by the Cunard Steamship Company without charge, was delivered in London. It was set up in the Canning Enclosure, facing the north door of Westminster Abbey and looking out toward the Houses of Parliament and the group of statues of noteworthy English statesmen which surround that noble building.

The formal ceremonies of unveiling and dedication took place on July 28, 1920. Elihu Root, then president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, made the formal presentation. Lord Bryce presided and Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, accepted the statue on behalf of the British people. The actual unveiling was done by the Duke of Connaught. In his brief speech Lloyd George said: "The qualities that enabled the American nation to bring forth, to discern, to appreciate, and to follow as leaders such men, are needed now more than ever in the settlement of the world. . . . This torn and bleeding earth is calling today for the help of the America of Abraham Lincoln."

Eventually a place for the Barnard statue was found at Manchester.

The cost of making, shipping and installing the Saint-Gaudens statue had been met by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in order that this monument to the great American statesman of the Civil War period should always stand at a center point in London to mark the underlying principles and ideals that are common to the English-speaking peoples. When I wrote to Mr. Lincoln, telling him what had happened and hinting that we should not need to make use of the \$25,000 which he had

deposited with J. P. Morgan and Company unless, perchance, we should have to draw upon that fund to meet the cost of the pedestal and sundry incidental expenses, he wrote me, under date of January 8, 1919:

I appreciate very greatly your note about the finances; I assure you that I am not in the slightest way disturbed about that element. I have assumed that Mr. Morgan will, through an account in his house, handle the disbursements and in respect to that he and I had an interchange of notes in December. In consequence of your mention of the pedestal &c., I have written him an additional note in regard to all expenses outside the contract which you have made; I think that when he knows from you that any payments are to be made, he will cause them to be cared for.

From being a very great trouble and anxiety to me, the London statue affair has been transformed into a pleasure by the work of friends inspired by feelings for which my filial gratitude cannot find adequate expression.

After the ceremony of unveiling had been completed, I wrote to him on December 4, 1920:

Even at this late day let me congratulate you most heartily upon the successful carrying out of the program to place the Saint-Gaudens statue of your father upon the Westminster site designated by the British government.

I have caused to be sent to you the recent publication of our Association for International Conciliation, giving a photograph of the statue *in situ*, and a record of the speeches by Lord Bryce, Root and Lloyd George, together with an appreciation by Mrs. Herbert Adams and an introduction by Cass Gilbert. We can place at your disposal as many copies as you may wish of this pamphlet for distribution to your friends, or we can send copies to any addresses that you may think it worth while to furnish.

Since all expenses in the matter have been met, you are free to release the fund which you placed with your bankers to guarantee the possibility of this undertaking, should the other means fail.

To this letter Lincoln replied, under date of December 17, 1920:

By some mishap the pamphlet publication of the American Association for International Conciliation giving the photograph of the statue of my father in the Canning Enclosure, Westminster, and the addresses made at the unveiling and the articles of Cass Gilbert, Mrs. Herbert Adams and J. St. Loe Strachey, was delayed ten days in coming and this partly accounts for my delay in acknowledging your letter but not entirely. I am simply overwhelmed by my emotions in trying to express my gratitude to you for the result of your great work in placing in Westminster the Saint-Gaudens statue as an American public gift, and so excluding the proposed Monstrosity. I am more than ever proud of a father for whom friends came so nobly to the rescue of his memory from an enduring outrage, and in whose honor their action was so eloquently sustained by Mr. Root and his distinguished colleagues at the presentation ceremonial.

I thank you very much for your kind proffer of copies of the pamphlet and will be glad to have a dozen of them.

Now I come to an embarrassment which is of my own creation; I think that you and Mr. Morgan understood that I expected that the guaranty fund would be drawn upon (with the knowledge of yourself and him only) and I was quite surprised to hear from you about a year ago (I cannot now lay my hand on your letter) that the cost of making the statue had been fully subscribed and suggesting, as I recall, that the guaranty should be made to cover the expenses of packing and shipping and of setting up the statue. To this I was very glad to assent, but I now fear that I failed to express myself properly, as you tell me that the fund is now free from liability. While I had a feeling that it was better that the memorial should be essentially not a simple filial act of my own, I hoped and expected that I should have some private practical part in it. I should be very glad, if it is not really too late, that this might be arranged. In any case I can only suggest that you advise Mr. Morgan, who holds the fund as Trustee, of the situation and he will act accordingly.

Thus ended in most satisfactory fashion an episode which had made Robert Lincoln desperately unhappy for the greater part of four years.

It was not long before another suggestion was made which both interested and disturbed him. This came from an editorial written by Alfred Holman, who was the editor of the San Francisco *Argonaut*, which was published in the *Argonaut* under the title, *The Tomb of Lincoln*. Mr. Holman's editorial made the suggestion that Lincoln's remains should be taken from Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, D. C., and buried permanently at the newly planned Lincoln Memorial. When the suggestion reached Robert Lincoln, he wrote me this letter on November 15, 1922:

I am leaving for Washington tomorrow and will briefly give you my ideas on the subject of the suggestion of Mr. Alfred Holman which I have read with a great deal of interest and I can quite understand the value of his suggestion, but necessarily I must consider the idea of changing the burial place of my father from Springfield, Illinois to Washington City from a very different viewpoint than that of Mr. Holman. Of course I could write at length upon the subject but I think it best to do so only briefly.

I will ask you, if it is convenient to do so, to look in my father's life by Nicolay and Hay and to read again at Volume III page 291 my father's farewell address upon leaving Springfield. Then in Volume X at page 324 on the last page is an indication of the monument at Springfield in which my father is buried. At the time there was no serious thought of his being buried anywhere else. The memorial monument was the work of Larkin G. Mead, an American sculptor who had his home in Vermont and who was, in his time, of very considerable distinction and I must say that I think that Mr. Holman's severe words in speaking of it are unduly strong. In later years some structural defects appeared and the State of Illinois appropriated a very large sum of money to rectify them. It is a structure

in which the State has taken a great interest in every way. It has a resident custodian who is an officer of the State. Within it are entombed the bodies of my father and my mother and my only son and it is arranged that my wife and myself shall be entombed there. I should myself oppose any change.

I am entirely in agreement with Mr. Holman in his admiration of the Lincoln Memorial building at Washington. This creation is due to the work of an old friend of my father, Senator Cullom, and he never had any idea of its taking the place as a burial monument of the one at Springfield and would, if alive, be opposed to it as I should be.

I will not attempt to say anything more and very much hope that the project of Mr. Holman be not further pressed or made a matter of public discussion, certainly at least in my lifetime.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN, SALMON P. CHASE  
AND SENATOR TRUMBULL

I may tell another new and unpublished story of Abraham Lincoln which was told me by Robert Lincoln at his home in Manchester, Vermont, on September 17, 1922.

We were speaking of some of the embarrassments and difficulties with which President Lincoln had to deal, arising from disloyalty and selfish vanity on the part of some of those who surrounded him and were supposed to be his counselors and friends. In particular, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, then Secretary of the Treasury and afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, was a busy mischief-maker. So also was Senator Lyman C. Trumbull of Illinois, a man of considerable ability but apparently of much meanness of spirit. Lincoln had made possible Trumbull's election as senator, but this fact had not induced in Trumbull's heart any particular sense of appreciation or gratitude.

On one occasion Senator Trumbull, accompanied by a colleague or two, called at the White House to protest against a decision which they said had been taken by the

Cabinet on an important subject. President Lincoln talked with them pleasantly but briefly in reference to the matter, and then asked Senator Trumbull and his colleagues whether they would not come to the White House that evening after supper, which was at that time the evening meal.

At the hour appointed Senator Trumbull and his colleagues arrived and were ushered into the Cabinet Room, where, to their amazement, they found that the President had assembled the entire Cabinet in special session. After an interchange of greetings, President Lincoln turned to Secretary Seward and asked him to repeat the substance of the Cabinet's conclusions in regard to the matter referred to by Trumbull. Secretary Seward was naturally much surprised at being asked to relate Cabinet proceedings and secrets in the presence of a group of senators, but he answered the President's question in minute detail. Then, turning to Secretary Chase, the President said: "Mr. Secretary, what is your recollection of the incident?"

Secretary Chase, taken greatly aback, gave almost precisely the same account of the matter as did Secretary Seward. Each remaining Cabinet member was asked by the President in turn to give his recollection, and all were in agreement. The President then bowed suavely to the Cabinet and said: "That is all, gentlemen. I shall not detain you any longer. Thank you very much."

So soon as the members of the Cabinet had left the room, Senator Trumbull leaped to his feet and said, "Mr. President, somebody has lied like hell!" "Not this evening, Judge Trumbull," replied the President blandly.

Robert Lincoln said that this story had been told him by his father, and that he was quite sure of the correctness of his memory in regard to it.

## PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND FRANCIS LIEBER

On the same occasion we discussed the possibility of President Lincoln's having had knowledge of the writings of Francis Lieber, and of having drawn upon Lieber's teachings in his speeches and writings. Robert Lincoln said that in reply to a recent correspondent who had questioned him on this subject, he had written that among the books in his father's rather meagre library was a copy of the *Encyclopedia Americana* published at Philadelphia in 1851, on the title page of which the name of Francis Lieber appeared as the editor. He expressed the opinion that such knowledge as his father may have had of Francis Lieber's teachings was probably derived from reading the articles which Lieber wrote on political and social topics for this encyclopedia.

I then told him what, curiously enough, he did not know—namely, that his father had appointed Francis Lieber, when professor in Columbia College, to draw up the important paper known in our military history as *General Orders No. 100*, being rules for the conduct of armies in the field. This very admirable document was copied in other lands and was widely effective throughout the world until its provisions were modified and modernized in later years by the Geneva Convention and the Hague Conferences.

Robert Lincoln was also much interested in a story which I told him concerning Lieber, which I got years ago from an old friend, Captain James Simons of Charleston, South Carolina.

When Francis Lieber came to America, he was first professor in the College at Columbia, South Carolina. There he gained a great reputation for scholarship and public spirit, and quickly became a leading figure in the

intellectual life of the state. So highly esteemed was he and so completely had he entered into the life of South Carolina, that the people of that state took it for granted that he would follow them in seceding from the Union. To their surprise, he took a contrary course, strongly urged the preservation of the Union and left South Carolina for New York, where he quickly became the distinguished and widely influential professor of history and political science in Columbia College.

A brother of Francis Lieber remained in South Carolina and entered the Confederate Army as an officer. In the state of New York there was raised a regiment or brigade composed chiefly of Americans of German birth or descent. When these troops were about to leave for the front Francis Lieber presented them with a standard of colors in a speech full of feeling for the Union cause. By a tragic coincidence these troops in their first battle in Virginia met the South Carolina regiment in which Lieber's brother was an officer, and in the engagement Lieber's brother was killed by the troops whose colors had been given by Francis Lieber.

There were no more important nineteenth century writings on the fundamentals of public policy and civil liberty than those by Francis Lieber. Some years ago a Philadelphia publishing house brought out a new edition of these important works which were distinctly of permanent value, and at the invitation of the publisher I was glad to write an introduction for this edition.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BIXBY LETTER

Finally, it is now possible to make public the fact that the famous Bixby letter which has been the subject of praise, of discussion and of debate for three-quarters of a

<sup>1</sup>Francis Lieber, *Political Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1911).

century was not written by Abraham Lincoln at all, but by John Hay. This is the text of the letter:

Executive Mansion  
Washington, November 21, 1864

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam:—

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,  
Abraham Lincoln

Theodore Roosevelt admired the Bixby letter greatly and had a framed photograph of it in one of the guest rooms at the White House. John Morley occupied this room while the guest of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904. His attention was attracted to the Bixby letter, of which he had never heard, and he too admired it greatly.

One morning during his visit to Washington Morley called on John Hay, then Secretary of State, whose house was on the opposite side of Lafayette Square from the White House. Morley expressed to Hay his great admiration for the Bixby letter, to which Hay listened with a quizzical look upon his face. After a brief silence, John Hay told Morley that he had himself written the Bixby letter and that this was the reason why it could not be

found among Lincoln's papers and why no original copy of it had ever been forthcoming. Hay asked Morley to treat this information as strictly confidential until after his [Hay's] death. Morley did so, and told me that he had never repeated it to any one until he told it to me during a quiet talk in London at the Athenaeum on July 9, 1912. He then asked me, in my turn, to preserve this confidence of his until he, Morley, should be no longer living.

As a matter of fact, Abraham Lincoln wrote very few letters that bore his signature. John G. Nicolay wrote almost all of those which were official, while John Hay wrote almost all of those which were personal. Hay was able to imitate Lincoln's handwriting and signature in well-nigh perfect fashion.

Not only was Morley's statement to me of outstanding historic interest and importance, but it followed a very interesting talk which I had had with Robert Lincoln concerning the Bixby letter while we were together at Augusta, Georgia, only a few months earlier. Robert Lincoln at that time told me that he had had a proposition from some one who, if I remember correctly, was a saloon-keeper in Brooklyn, New York, to sell him the original of the Bixby letter which had somehow or other come into this saloon-keeper's possession. Lincoln went on to say that he had satisfied himself that the so-called original was a forgery, and that no one had ever been able to find the original letter or knew from what source knowledge of its existence had been derived. Numerous articles have been written on this subject even later than the date of John Morley's statement to me, but they deal with imaginary facts. It has been publicly stated that the original Bixby letter is in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. It is not and never was. Robert Lincoln assured me that the original Bixby letter had never been known to be seen by

any one other than the person to whom it was addressed, and that all the alleged copies of the letter were merely manufactured facsimiles.

A full statement of what has been said and written about the Bixby letter will be found in Carl Sandburg's recently published volumes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), III, 665-8.

## X

## THAT AMAZING WEST OF OURS

**T**HREE is no longer any West. It disappeared with the passing of the frontier just about sixty years ago. The railway, the telegraph, the telephone, modern industrial and commercial methods and the rapid settling of the trans-Missouri country all united to bring the frontier to an end and to destroy what had been that amazing West of ours. In its stead we now have a near Northwest and a far Northwest, a trans-Missouri section, the Rocky Mountain States and a Pacific Coast, and we have a Southwest as well. In a general way these are all part and parcel of what was once the West, but more correctly the territory described by that term was bounded on the west by the Sierra Mountains and did not include the Pacific Coast.

It was my good fortune to get across the Missouri River just before the frontier came to its end and before the West, as it had been, disappeared forever. In those days one changed cars at Council Bluffs, and on the other side of the Missouri River the town of Omaha was still a straggling settlement with huge piles of logs on the river bank as its outstanding feature. The sidewalks of the main streets were made of planks and the wooden buildings were but one story or at most two stories in height. The most advanced institution of the town was the influential daily newspaper, the *Omaha Daily Bee*, of which Edward Rose-

water was the vigorous and powerful directing force. To have seen and to have known that Western country makes it possible to read Mark Twain's *Roughing It* with fullest understanding and delight, to revel in the writing of Bret Harte, to appreciate the vivid and accurate descriptions of Zane Grey and those in Edna Ferber's *Cimarron* and to regard as truly classic the *Western Verse* of Eugene Field.

In those days there were still great numbers of cattle roaming over the plains west of the Missouri and occasionally there were buffalo, although the herds of buffalo which had previously raced madly across vast areas had either moved north or disappeared forever. The public lands were being rapidly pre-empted, particularly in the river valleys, but the chief interest was in mining. Adventurous spirits flocked to Colorado, to the Black Hills, to Nevada and to California, and literally left no stone unturned to find the precious ore which was concealed in those regions. There were a number of military posts scattered throughout the country because the Custer massacre and various disturbances by the White River Utes and the Apaches were a very recent memory. The Indians were much more widely distributed than is now the case and were to be met with almost everywhere between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains.

My friend, Will Annin, who was an editorial writer on the *Omaha Daily Bee*, had been named post trader at Fort Robinson in northwestern Nebraska. On one occasion when he was returning to that post, I went with him in order to see more of western Nebraska and something of the Black Hills country. We left the Union Pacific Railway train at Sidney, Nebraska, about 400 miles west of Omaha, and were driven by coach for parts of two days and one night across the plains to Fort Robinson, which seemed very remote indeed. Annin warned me that I

might have some queer experiences and told me of this happening on his last trip. On the front seat of the coach next to the driver was a quiet and motionless passenger, wearing a heavy topcoat with a muffler pulled down over his head and ears. He did not leave his place either for food or to refresh himself at any time, but sat stolidly by the driver's side during the entire trip. This aroused curiosity, which changed to amazement when on reaching Fort Robinson it was learned for the first time that this fellow passenger was a corpse that had been sent from the Black Hills to Sidney, and not being met there by the expected person was being driven back to the Black Hills!

A little bit later we had an experience of our own which was all right for once, but something which one does not wish to have repeated. We were loping down from the Black Hills, and hearing that the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railway, which was then building, had reached a point near what is now Chadron in northwest-ern Nebraska, decided to dispose of our horses there and take the train back to Omaha, nearly 500 miles away. We rode into camp, hot and tired, about six o'clock one evening in the month of August, to find there nothing but a construction camp. We had been misinformed as to the progress of the new railway, which had only been completed, so that trains might use it, to a point some fifty or sixty miles east of where Chadron now is. It was, therefore, imperative that we spend the night at the construction camp. We had hardly looked after our horses when there was a commotion in what might perhaps be described as the main street of this settlement, as a man in chaps came galloping along, firing a pistol right and left and shouting loudly, apparently for no purpose but his own amusement. We promptly took refuge behind two flour barrels until this boisterous gentleman had dis-

appeared. The only provision for visitors was a structure made of canvas bearing the label "Hotel." In it was a small compartment used as a dining room where atrocious and ill-cooked food was served. The beds were camp cots, each in a narrow compartment made of tent cloth, while the washing arrangements were outside the structure and of the most primitive character. Shortly after darkness fell, Will Annin and I took to our respective beds. Not long afterward there came a shout from the same person who had made all the disturbance in the main street a few hours earlier: "Lie down flat, all you fellers! I'm goin' to shoot!" And in a moment he shot straight through the tent cloth walls of the several bedrooms and then, roaring with laughter, went off into drunken sleep. Any one who might have been sitting up in bed would probably have been killed. I have never been at Chadron since, but I fancy that, more than a half-century having passed, there is no one living there now who has any recollection of those truly frontier days.

More interesting than the plains of Nebraska, however, were the mining camps of Colorado. Every sort and kind of person congregated there, and the joy of conquest mingled on every hand with the gloom of failure. To spend some time in the camps in the vicinity of Georgetown or better still, in those in the Uncompahgre Canyon, was a real experience with many-sided human nature. The poker games in which each player was accompanied by his pistol lying within easy reach of his right hand, the stories that were told, the experiences that were recounted, were amazing in high degree. My most vivid memories are of one or two of the mines on Red Mountain in San Juan County, for which any one of a great number of Eugene Field's verses might have been written. It is well that the debate over the name of the state of Colorado ended as it

did, for the two competing proposals to call it the state of Jefferson or the state of Arcadia would not have fitted in well with the early life and history of that part of the country. Denver quickly became a very important distributing center and quite naturally was chosen as the capital of the newly organized state in 1876. Nevertheless, Denver had a hard fight for precedence and was accused of having resorted to bribery in order to get the better of Pueblo. The original suggestion of Colorado City as the capital, the site being chosen because it was geographically central, was abandoned because, although central, it was found to be inconvenient.

In those days there were graduates of the Columbia School of Mines scattered all through the Colorado mining camps, where they were held in high esteem as mining engineers. There was always plenty of good company to be had and if there were more drinking and shooting than is desirable in a settled community, this must be attributed to the very undeveloped and unorganized condition of the social and political order.

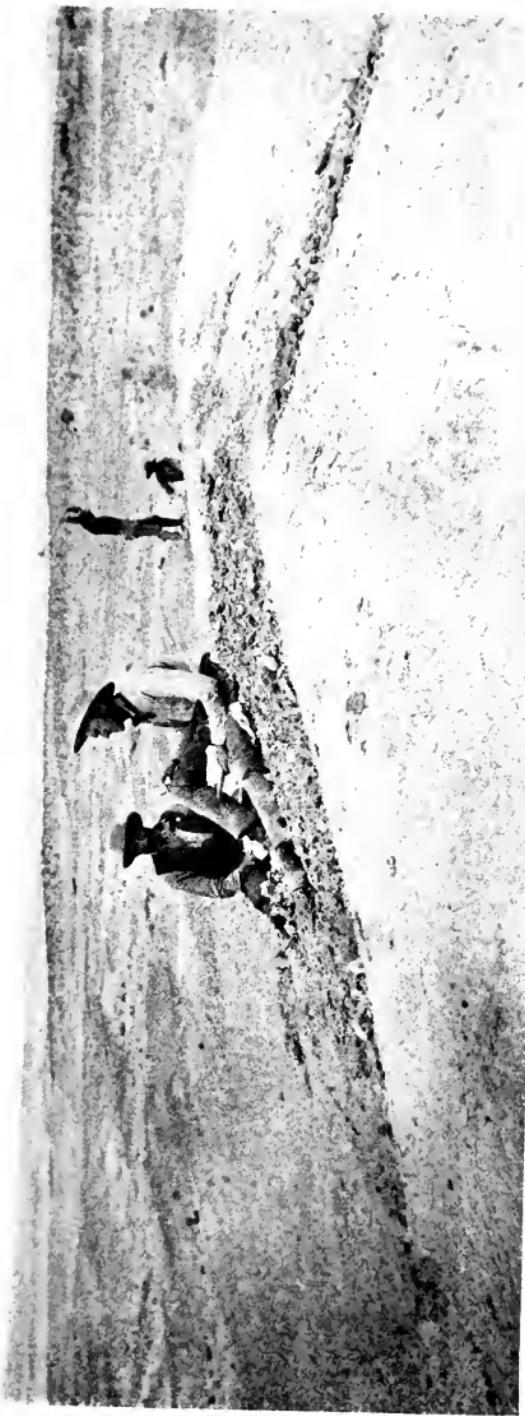
In 1886 I was permitted to join the Princeton geological expedition which went out into the Bad Lands in search of characteristic fossils.<sup>1</sup> We were to assemble at Fort Bridger, the well-known army post in southwestern Wyoming. I well remember my feelings when I alighted from the Union Pacific train at Carter, a station in southwestern Wyoming about halfway between Green River and Evanston, which consisted at that time of one building in addition to the railway station. Standing there in the clothes of a city dweller, alone with my luggage, watching the westward bound train pass out of sight, I felt lonely and deserted indeed. It was a full half-hour before, off to

<sup>1</sup>See *New York Daily Tribune*, November 7, 1886, p. 6; and *Science*, October 1, 1886, Vol. III, No. 191.

the south on the hills of the desert, could be seen the dust from an army wagon, which had been sent to take me to Fort Bridger, some miles distant. That was truly a glad sight. I may say that I never saw Carter again for more than thirty years, since the fast train service on the Union Pacific Railway always took passengers through there by night. During the Great War, however, when the Government took over the management of the railroads—and grievously mismanaged them—the express-train schedule was so altered that one again passed through Carter by daylight. It rejoiced me to see that in the thirty years it had grown 300 per cent, and that then there were four houses instead of one in addition to the railway station.

At Fort Bridger our whole group assembled and as Professor Scott, who was leader of the expedition, had been obliged to return to Princeton, it was put in charge of his old classmate, Francis Speir, Jr. It consisted of a small but interesting group, six of whom were Princeton undergraduates. One of these was Walter L. Hervey, who afterwards gave distinguished service to the cause of education, first as administrative head of Teachers College, Columbia University, for a number of years, and then for a longer period as a member of the Board of Examiners of the New York City school system. Another was Stewart Paton, whose distinction as a neurologist, writer and teacher is well known. Others were Francis Fisher Kane, a leading member of the Philadelphia bar; Joseph D. Baucus from Saratoga, New York; David E. Harlan, who later in life came to be an important paper manufacturer at Middletown, Ohio; and George Reynolds, who had a long and successful pastorate at New Rochelle, New York. One can never forget the guide and captain of the expedition, Jake Heisey, who, with iron-gray beard and a quiet, commanding manner, showed that he had not been in the United

States cavalry during the Civil War without the marks of that service being left upon him. Heisey was an extraordinary character. After the Civil War he had gone to Wyoming and settled there as a farmer. Not long afterward some raiding Indians killed his wife and, taking his infant child by the ankles, dashed its brains out against a rock in Jake's presence. How he escaped, I do not know, but from that moment he determined to kill every lone Indian whom he should meet. He told us that he had never varied from this habit for some fifteen years. One of his instructions to us was that while on the desert or in the Bad Lands we must never let an Indian pass us on our right-hand side, but must always compel him to pass on our left-hand side and under the muzzle of our gun or pistol. He also insisted that we must kill each and every solitary Indian whom we might meet. On one occasion Jake reproached me vigorously because I had not acted on this instruction. I had been cutting out a fossil some eight or ten miles from camp and as the afternoon grew on, I stopped working for the day, unhobbled my horse and started to lope slowly back to camp. Soon I saw in the distance an Indian coming toward me. There was no mistaking the fact that he was an Indian, since the lope of the Indian's horse is much shorter and quite different from that ridden by a white man. Mindful of Heisey's instructions not to allow the Indian to pass on my right side, I turned my helm over a little, so to speak, in order to bring him to my left. I soon noticed that the Indian was doing the same thing and that instead of riding straight toward each other, we were riding at an angle which would shortly bring us together under a butte of considerable height. When we met, however, we passed each other with unchanging faces, each under the muzzle of the other's gun. Immediately each swung in his saddle and looked back



The Author with pickaxe raised to cut out a fossil in the White River, Colorado, Bad Lands.  
Princeton Geological Expedition, 1886



over his shoulder to see what the other was doing. We remained in this position while riding several hundred yards and then continued on our several ways in peace and good order. When I got back to camp and told Heisey of this experience, he was quite upset and insisted that I should have killed the man. He took no account of the fact that the Indian might easily have killed me.

In order to reach our camp, which was in northwestern Colorado, just over the Utah line, on the White River about twelve miles beyond the point where it flows into Green River, we had to cross the Uinta Mountains, going over at an elevation of some 10,500 feet. During this mountain climb we came upon General Crook of the Army, who was making an inspection of that part of the country because of the Indians and their doings. He was in camp with a small group of aides near the route which we were following. We were offered the hospitality of the camp, which was manifested by handing each of us a glass with lemon juice at the bottom and a bottle of mineral water. One of our group, who was a total abstainer, declined the bottle of water saying: "No, I'll take mine straight." Whereupon, the aide produced an empty glass and shoved over a whisky bottle, having missed the point of the joke entirely.

When we got over to the south side of the mountains we went slowly down through the little Mormon town of Ashley and on to the Uinta Indian Reservation. The White River Utes were still under heavy suspicion, for the Meeker massacre had taken place but seven years before. Many of the Indians were plainly of bad temper and quite ready for a scrap either with each other or with any other person who might come along. Each Friday there was a general migration of the Indians from miles around into the trading post, where there was a distribution of food

supplies, and once each month a small distribution of money as well. So soon as the food was in hand, the women were sent back to their several abodes with it, but the men remained about the trading post to chatter, to indulge in games of chance and once in a while to get up something of a fight. On the days when the money was distributed it was all in two or three hands by the middle of the afternoon, and an hour later it was all in the hands of the post-trader, from whom had been purchased all sorts and kinds of gewgaws which had attracted the attention of those Indians who had been successful at the gambling game of the day.

Our camp, over the Colorado line on the banks of the White River, was a number of miles from the Uinta Reservation. We were put on our guard against the Utes, and one measure of protection that we took was each night to tie the horses' heads together and then sleep on our blankets in a circle around them. By doing this the Indians could not steal a horse by stampeding it or without coming over, or leading a horse over, our sleeping bodies. We felt pretty certain that in such case some one of us would be awakened and would see to it that the invading Indian returned to the minding of his own business. It was a very extraordinary bit of country that we came to know, and one did not need to be a geologist or a zoologist to appreciate its wonders or the story which it had to tell of the past history of the earth and the inhabitants thereof. The experience was truly a remarkable one and one which could not be repeated in any like fashion in these very sophisticated times.

There are several places in our Western country which will always stand out in memory as the most wonderful and the most impressive of all my experience. First among these is, of course, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, the

most astonishing natural phenomenon that one can conceive. Even now, when it is reached with perfect comfort by train, and an admirable hotel is provided at the railway terminus on the very edge of the Canyon itself, to visit it is truly an unequalled experience. But fifty odd years ago it was more amazing still.

My first visit to the Grand Canyon was made on horseback with a group of friends, starting from Flagstaff, Arizona. We took with us very little food and water and almost no luggage. Leaving early in the morning, we went northward and westward across the desert, leaving the San Francisco mountains to our right, and kept along the dry bed of what would like to have been a stream until, as the elevation increased, we reached the wooded portion of the territory and, finally, as midnight was nearing, came to the edge of the Grand Canyon itself. There was a simple but very welcome camp, kept by a Mr. and Mrs. Vincent, he a brother of the distinguished Bishop Vincent who brought the Chautauqua movement into existence. Nothing could have been more primitive than this so-called camp. The provision for such three or four guests as might appear at this remote and almost inaccessible spot consisted of hammocks swung between the trees, while the very small central structure was anything but inviting. It so happened that on the night of our arrival three visitors had preceded us, coming up from Prescott, Arizona, and they were in somnolent occupancy of all the hammocks that there were. There was nothing for us to do but to spread our blankets on the ground or on the floor of the little building and try to get the sleep that we then so sorely needed. Hanging about the camp was a cowboy who seemed for some reason to be delaying his own retiring for the night. Finally I said to him: "My friend, I've got to put my blanket down here and want to

go to sleep. I wish you'd turn out that oil lamp and give me a chance." With a grin, he replied, "Say, Mister, I was waitin' around here to see what color you was when you washed!" I had quite forgotten that after the long hours of exposure to the sun and the desert dust, with no possible chance of washing, since no water existed in that part of the world, it might well be difficult to tell whether I were an Indian or a Mexican or a white man.

Grand Canyon cannot really be adequately described. I have seen many attempts at it, but no one of them has been successful. It must be seen—and no one who cares for the grandeur and the magnificence of nature will leave any stone of opportunity unturned until he shall have seen it.

Another and very different spot of beauty and splendor is Gold Beach in Oregon at the mouth of the Rogue River. One may sit there as the sun sinks into the Pacific at the day's end, cut off from the noisy and busy world by the range of mountains behind him, and see as beautiful a sunset as can possibly be imagined, reflecting all the while that, as the sun sinks into the Pacific, its rays will fall upon no land until they strike the ancient Orient, thousands of miles away. Probably very few Americans, even those who are well-travelled, have ever visited Gold Beach, but until they do visit it and spend a night there to see the sunset, they will be without an experience which, when it comes, will be unforgettable.

Yet another and very remarkable place where grandeur and beauty and detachment from the world all meet again, is Goldendale on Klickitat Creek in southern Washington, perhaps a score or so of miles north of the Columbia River. One may come to it by following the marvellous Columbia River road from Portland, crossing over by flat-boat to the State of Washington at White Salmon near

where the Hood River flows in from the south, and then following the Klickitat Valley across to Goldendale. Of a summer's afternoon one may see from that beautiful spot four splendid snow-clad mountains—Mount Hood in Oregon to the south, Mount St. Helen's and Mount Adams in Washington to the west, and the towering Mount Rainier farther to the north. Mount Baker, far up near the Canadian line, is too distant to be seen from Goldendale. The Grand Canyon of the Colorado, Gold Beach, and Goldendale have nothing that is physical in common. Each differs from the other as much as can possibly be imagined and yet each one is, in its own way, a new and splendid revelation of beauty and of awe-inspiring magnificence.

Different from all these, and unique I suppose in all this world, is Mono Lake, which has been called the Dead Sea of California. Nearly sixty years ago Mark Twain told me that Mono Lake was the loneliest place on earth, and that nothing in nature had impressed him so greatly. From that day I made up my mind to see Mono Lake, but I never succeeded in getting there until 1922. For a number of years I had been a member and officer of the National Parks Association, and took the keenest interest in the development of the Parks and in the building of the roads which were to join them and make possible a visit by automobile to each and all of them. This aim was finally accomplished, and now one may start from Estes Park in Colorado and go by automobile in great comfort across Colorado and Wyoming to the east entrance of the Yellowstone, visit the Yellowstone and go out by the north entrance and cross Montana over to the Glacier National Park. After the wonders of that part of the country have been seen, the route lies westward across Idaho and Washington to Mount Rainier, then on south either by Portland or the Hood River Valley to Crater Lake, then to Klamath

Lake and so into California by Mount Shasta and the Sacramento Valley, past Stockton into the San Joaquin Valley until one comes to Modesto and turns up the Tuolumne and enters the Yosemite National Park from the west. Coming out of the Yosemite southbound, the next stop is at the Sequoia National Park, east of Visalia, then on down through southern California to the Needles, across into Arizona to visit the Grand Canyon, then back to Colorado to the point of departure. To be sure, not many persons make or ever have made this entire journey, but each year some tens of thousands of automobiles now make a very considerable part of it, and the number of annual visitors to the Yosemite, the Yellowstone and the Glacier National Park grows by leaps and bounds. They are among our country's most glorious possessions.

My first visit to Mono Lake in 1922 was a result of interest in the work of the National Parks Association. I had stated during the winter that since the new Tioga Pass, built under the direction and by the generous aid of Stephen T. Mather of Colorado, Director of the National Park Service, had been completed, I was most anxious to reach the Yosemite by that new and unexplored route. Everything was arranged that I might do so, when, just as I was leaving New York at the end of June, word came from Washington that there had been an exceptionally heavy snowfall in the Sierras, that at the top of the Tioga Pass there were drifts estimated at thirty or forty feet in height, and that I probably could not get through there until August, if at all. My answer was that I expected to be at the Bohemian Grove at a certain date in July, that I intended to visit Mono Lake and that I was going to make every attempt to go over the Tioga Pass, snow or no snow. Our party left the train at Truckee in California and spent a day or two most delightfully at Lake Tahoe,

telephoning and telegraphing down to the Yosemite Valley in order to get the latest information about the Tioga Pass. The last word was that if we tried it, we must do so at our own risk. So, on the following morning we started. The pitch from Lake Tahoe down into Nevada is exceedingly steep and our very strong and well-driven automobile had a hard time of it, but eventually we reached the little town of Minden. This of itself proved to be a most interesting place. It had been founded, we were told, by two Germans from Münden in Westphalia, and they had built it up into a successful community and the center of the dairy industry for the supply of Nevada and western Utah. At Minden we took careful advice as to how to reach Mono Lake. Our instructions were to go out across the desert directly south and to keep on until we came to Mono Lake. We were told that we could not lose the direction, because the Sierras towered above us on the west and could not by any possibility be climbed or overlooked. After several hours we came, quite unexpectedly, to a village, and found that its name was Bridgeport and that we had crossed over the line into California. Here we took some farther advice as to how best to reach Mono Lake, and since the afternoon was well advanced, we did what we could to make speed across the trackless desert. Finally, when we had almost given up hope, we came to a little rise of land and there before us was Mono Lake—surely, as Mark Twain had said, the loneliest place on earth! Nowhere was there a sign of life. The Sierras towered three or four thousand feet above us on the west, while to the south, to the east as to the north, the desert rolled away, tenantless and quite beyond the possibility of cultivation. Having reached Mono Lake, where were we to stop? Suddenly, off to the right, there appeared an electric light, for darkness had now set in. We had, perhaps, two or three

miles to go to reach that light, but we lost no time in covering the distance. There we found on a narrow shelf of desert, at the very edge of Mono Lake and just at the foot of the High Sierras, a small camp and a village store. We were hundreds of miles from anywhere and it was little short of amazing that such conditions should exist in so isolated a spot. An energetic man, however, had found a way to put a dam in a stream which came down from the melting snows of the Sierras and thereby generated electricity for light and heat. He had also gotten hold of some of the comfortable A tents which had been disposed of by the Government after the Great War, and he was able—how on earth he did it, the Lord only knows—to make us exceedingly comfortable. We were happy to bathe in the water which the mountain stream provided and then to go for dinner in the single room of the main building of the camp. This dinner was so admirable that we could not help congratulating our host upon it. He said: "Go out and tell the cook so. She will be glad to know that you like her food." So, on leaving the table, I pushed open the door into the kitchen and found there a woman cook with the uniform of her profession, ready and glad to receive my congratulations on her skill, particularly under such amazing conditions. I said to her, "Cook, where did you ever learn to cook like that?" "Oh," said she, smilingly, "I used to be cook for the Marquis of Salisbury!" This good woman, out of a desire to see the world, had reached San Francisco and then, in some marvellous manner, over trackless mountains and deserts she had found her way to Mono Lake.

Mark Twain's description of Mono Lake cannot be improved upon. These are the words which he wrote in his *Roughing It*:

"Mono Lake lies in a lifeless, treeless, hideous desert,

eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, and is guarded by mountains two thousand feet higher, whose summits are always clothed in clouds. This solemn, silent, sailless sea—this lonely tenant of the loneliest spot on earth—is little graced with the picturesque. It is an unpretending expanse of grayish water, about a hundred miles in circumference, with two islands in its center, mere upheavals of rent and scorched and blistered lava, snowed over with gray banks and drifts of pumice stone and ashes, the winding-sheet of the dead volcano, whose vast crater the lake has seized upon and occupied.

“The lake is two hundred feet deep, and its sluggish waters are so strong with alkali that if you only dip the most hopelessly soiled garment into them once or twice, and wring it out, it will be found as clean as if it had been through the ablest of washerwomen’s hands.”

Everything that Mark Twain said about Mono Lake was true, and much more. Like the Grand Canyon, Mono Lake must be seen to be appreciated. There is no use in attempting to give a description of it and its surrounding country, however much one may wish to do so.

Early one morning we started over the new Tioga Pass. We marvelled at its construction and at the daring of those who had conceived and planned it. It crosses the Sierras at a height of almost exactly 10,000 feet. We found no snow until the top was reached and then it was not troublesome until we had gone perhaps a half mile beyond the summit. There we came upon the immense masses of snow, the existence of which had been reported to us, but by laying down planks and using the snow itself as a roadway for about a half-mile, and then descending from the snow on these planks, we were able to proceed uninterruptedly and reached the Yosemite over a very rough road late in the afternoon.

Beyond any question the Grand Canyon, Gold Beach, Goldendale, and Mono Lake stand out in memory as the four most impressive physical features which our country possesses. The ascent of Pike's Peak, of the mountains of British Columbia, of Mount Rainier, of Mount Shasta and of a half-dozen of the Sierras are all exhilarating and memorable experiences, but none the less they only repeat what one could find in Switzerland, in Austria or in Italy. The four outstanding places which I name are, however, peculiar to our own land and characteristic of its geography and its geology. The contrast between the easterly and the westerly slopes of the Sierras is so great as to be almost unbelievable. The western slope, constantly watered by melting snows and by the occasional rains which the wind and the ocean currents of the Pacific bring to it, is abundant in vegetation, and the ascent may be made in a score of places by as many different passes or routes. On the east, however, where the desert extends across Nevada and Utah to the Rocky Mountains and where rain is not an institution but a genuine event, the desert comes to the very foot of the mountains and there are but three or four passes between Lake Tahoe and Mojave by which the summit may be easily reached. Tioga Pass is one of these and Kearsarge, which is some 2000 feet higher, is another.

There are some amusing incidents connected with an ascent of Kearsarge Pass made in 1922. Our customary and familiar group had gone by automobile down the San Joaquin Valley to Bakersfield and contemplated crossing over the mountains at that point. When we inquired as to whether or not we might try the Walker Pass which is only about 4500 feet in height, we were told on local authority in Bakersfield that Walker Pass was impossible and that we must go round by Mojave and then north on

the eastern side of the mountains. We, thereupon, stubbornly decided to try the Walker Pass. There was no more difficulty in going through it and over it than in driving down the San Joaquin Valley itself, save for one or two happenings. When we stopped to take our luncheon by the side of what had at one time been a brook, but which was at the moment absolutely dry, we had an experience of how quickly things may happen in that part of the world. Without warning, the skies clouded over, there were sharp flashes of lightning and loud thunder, and then there came a genuine cloudburst which made us feel as if we were about to have an ocean roll over us. In ten minutes the dried-up brook was a roaring torrent, four feet deep, and we had great difficulty in getting far enough away from it to escape drenching and to prevent our automobile from being put out of use. The cloudburst and its effects did not last over thirty or forty minutes, and then the brook began to recede as quickly as it had risen. When we reached the easterly side of Walker Pass we came upon the most beautiful cactus grove that can be imagined. For hundreds of yards there stretched on either side of us these cactus trees in full flower. They appeared to be from four to six feet in height and their flowers were blue and pink and white and red. It was a truly marvellous sight, particularly to those who, like ourselves, had seen the flowering cactus only as it is scattered here and there through Arizona and New Mexico. After a time we reached what looked like a wagon route running north and as our desire was to reach Independence, where there was an inn, we turned our automobile in that direction. On the map the first settlement marked was named Lone Pine, and as the type in which its name was printed was of the same size that the map maker had used for San Francisco and Los Angeles we rather expected to find a very considerable

town. Lone Pine consisted, however, so far as we could see, of a gas-service station and one visible inhabitant, who was sitting contentedly in front of his lonely abode, gazing out over the desert. After we had gratified him by making a purchase of gasoline, he finally overcame his propensity for silence sufficiently to say, "Hev yuh heard the news?" This question, naturally, startled us, for we did not know what might have happened since we left Bakersfield, and did not stop to think that no news of anything which had happened could possibly have reached him. No, we had heard no news. What was it? "There has been a cloud-burst and the road up here is all washed out! Yuh can't get up to Independence." This was real news, for our supplies were running very low and unless we could reach Independence, our situation was pretty desperate. On being pressed for advice as to what to do under these circumstances, the inhabitant of Lone Pine said: "Well, I'll tell yuh. Go back the way yuh cum 'til yuh cum to a rock. Mebbe it's about a half-mile. Yuh can't miss it 'cause there's only one rock there. Hev yuh got a compass? Well, when yuh get to that rock, go dead east by your compass. Yuh go quite a ways—I don't know how far—mebbe five miles, mebbe six. Then, yuh'll come to a kind of embankment place that belongs to the old railroad they had out there when there was mines up here right after the Civil War. Of course, it's abandoned now and all covered with weeds, but yuh can't miss it. When yuh come to that, turn left and keep along that embankment, oh, for quite a way. I don't know for how many miles, just keep along it and after a while, mebbe an hour or two, yuh oughta get back on what's left of this road, and then yuh can get into Independence in another hour or so."

We followed this very helpful, but not very encouraging, advice and found everything precisely as the citizen of

Lone Pine had described it. When we reached Independence, we felt that we had come to the Promised Land. Here was an inn with a dining room and a bath, and here was the group of companions who, coming from the other direction, had agreed to meet us there and make the ascent of Kearsarge Pass on the following day. This we did, going over the 12,500-foot elevation without any difficulty. We pitched our camp under the heights of Mount Whitney at an elevation of about 9000 feet. We were at the fork of two creeks at the head of the King River Canyon, and we spent some delightful days in this lofty cloudland. There were trout in the near-by streams and lakes, so that we found plenty of fish, swift water, quiet pools, a fine camp site with the workaday world far away. When, some time later, we came down over Kearsarge Pass and returned to Independence, we went north through Inyo County and halted at Mammoth, California, to have a look at the surrounding country. From there we went back to Mono Lake and again over Tioga Pass and so on down to San Francisco, where we were hailed as a returning band of genuine explorers.

One may, if he really wishes to see his country's outstanding physical features, begin on the coast of Maine and climb the very modest height which is offered by the Island of Mount Desert. He may then go westward into New Hampshire and begin to feel that he knows what a mountain looks like as he climbs up Mount Washington and Mount Jefferson. The next step will be across Lake Champlain to the Adirondacks, where Mount Marcy, Mount McIntyre and Mount Seward, and White Face have much to reward the effort to climb to their summits. From there he must go out to the mountains of Colorado, beginning perhaps with Pike's Peak, and then seeking the heights of three or four more mountains that lie just to the

west. Up in Alberta and British Columbia the searcher for beauty will be rewarded by climbing any one of the half-dozen accessible peaks in the vicinity of Lake Louise and Banff, and then come the really high mountains of the Sierras which have already been described.

The prairies and the plains, too, had a charm that was quite unique. Many years ago a good friend of mine, whose home was in Chicago, acted on my advice and took her summer holiday among the high places of Colorado. When she returned home she wrote me that she had greatly enjoyed the mountains, but that it was an immense satisfaction to get back home where she could really draw a long breath without feeling shut in! This is the reply of the prairie-dweller to the mountain-lover.

So few know anything of our country, save the narrow environment in which they pass their lives, that they deprive themselves of the joy of seeing and feeling and knowing that which belongs to us all and which gives our America an attraction and a satisfaction that are unexampled. It is now too late to see the West in its unique and primitive state, but its geology and its geography remain, and to answer their call is to gain new and thrilling pleasure.

## XI

### COMPANIONSHIP AND CONVERSATION

THOSE among us who so often lament the decline of true conversation must have had singularly limited human contacts and relationships. It has been my good fortune to be a member of one group after another, recruited from men of quite different background and different interests and from all parts of the United States, with whom conversation of the most inspiring, most instructive and most elevated kind flourished in highest degree. It so happens that each one of these groups has an interesting history.

The first that occurs to me was the extraordinary company which Edwin Booth gathered about him at The Players when that Club first came into being and occupied its charming house on Gramercy Park. Mr. Booth, who was the first President of The Players, had, as I remember, his apartment in the house and was constantly there. He certainly was there at five o'clock every afternoon, usually standing before the fireplace in the library, often holding a newspaper in his hand and virtually presiding in his own inimitable way over an extraordinary group. That company used to include week after week, and month after month, Mark Twain, Brander Matthews, Laurence Hutton, Richard Watson Gilder, Edmund Clarence Stedman,

Thomas Nelson Page, H. C. Bunner, Edward Simmons, the painter, and for the better part of one whole winter, Rudyard Kipling. The conversation was brilliant, frequently anecdotal and always illuminating, as well as revealing of the intellectual outlook and characteristics of those who talked. I remember on one occasion, when Mark Twain was not present, that the question was raised as to who was the best known American? Richard Watson Gilder thought it was Mark Twain. In order to test his judgment, not knowing in the least where Mark Twain might be, Gilder wrote him a letter on the club paper, put a postage stamp upon it sufficient to pay for its transmission either at home or abroad, and dropped it in the letterbox at the corner of Irving Place. The envelope was simply addressed Mark Twain. In less than three weeks from the date of its posting, this letter was delivered to Mark Twain at his lodgings in St. John's Wood, London. Mr. Gilder felt that his judgment was upheld. Inquiry developed that what happened was this: the New York Post Office authorities had read in the papers that Mark Twain was in England. They, therefore, put the letter in the English mail and sent it to London. The London Post Office authorities had read in the papers that Mark Twain had been at certain functions in that city. A little inquiry discovered that he had lodgings in St. John's Wood and there the letter found him.

Unhappily, this group was not long-lived. Mr. Booth died in 1893 and Rudyard Kipling stayed but a short time in New York. Changes in the city brought about changes at The Players, and after three or four more years these experiences became a happy memory.

Another and very different group was that known as the Gin Mill Club, the members of which saw much of each other and all of whom lunched together on the Saturday

before Christmas for forty-nine consecutive years. In the year 1877 four young men, destined to become close and intimate friends for a lifetime, were graduated from Princeton, from Yale, and from Columbia. In the Class of 1877 at Princeton were Moses Taylor Pyne and Francis Speir, Jr.; at Yale was William J. Forbes, and at Columbia, John B. Pine. These four youths turned their attention to the law and all met at the Columbia Law School in the days when Professor Dwight was at the very height of his teaching and inspiring power. They were making their way in the world and used, at the beginning, to take luncheon together in the modest back room of a beer saloon on Great Jones Street. This they called "The Gin Mill." Later on they joined the Downtown Association and stately took luncheon together there, often in company with others of the larger group which they had invited to join them. Among these were the two Annins, than whom no more brilliant minds came out of any American college in those years—William E. Annin of Princeton, 1877, and Robert E. Annin of Princeton, 1880, both descendants in direct line from Jonathan Edwards; Andrew F. West of Princeton, 1874, who was destined to become Dean of the Graduate School at Princeton and a commanding intellectual influence in the life of that institution; Henry Fairfield Osborn of Princeton, 1877, who was already giving evidence of that ability which was to bring him so great distinction for his life work in zoology; William Milligan Sloane of Columbia, 1868, the historian, identified both with Columbia and with Princeton; and Edward Delavan Perry of Columbia, 1875, an outstanding classical scholar, and a few others not so well known. From the very beginning the habit developed of holding what we called the Christmas Luncheon, which took place on the Saturday before Christmas each year. At first, these luncheons were

held at the Downtown Association; later, at the Century Club in West 43d Street, and still later, and until their end, at the Lotos Club in West 57th Street. After his return to Princeton from his professorship at Wesleyan University, Woodrow Wilson was brought by Pyne to one of these Christmas Luncheons, but he was not the sort of person to adjust himself to the atmosphere which this group had created and he was never asked again. Unhappily, it was impossible to hold the Fiftieth Annual Luncheon, for when that date came but two of the group were in good health, and one of these was absent from the city.

The records of the Gin Mill Club are of extraordinary interest and contain some striking literary material. West and the younger Annin, in particular, had the gift of writing humorous verse which was exceptionally brilliant. West's poems on Boston and Philadelphia and Annin's poem on Brooklyn are well worth being preserved for a much wider audience than ever heard them within the strict confines of the room in which the Gin Mill Club was holding its Christmas Luncheon.

At the luncheon of 1899 West produced his delightful poem entitled "Boston," which he described as "An Atrocity in Three Cantos." This poem was suggested by an address of Charles Francis Adams, delivered shortly before at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in which he stated that the passage of the Red Sea was, from his point of view, not a more momentous event than the voyage of the *Mayflower*, and that the founding of Boston was fraught with consequences hardly less important than those which resulted from the founding of Rome. The verses which West wrote in comment upon this passage are inimitable. Here are some of the lines from what he called the Idyllic Finale of his poem:

There is a region lovelier far  
 Than Eden's vales and vistas are,  
 Serene and sheltered in repose  
 From every stormy wind that blows,  
 A place than all besides more sweet,  
 At once you know it! Beacon Street!

No rude alarms, no vulgar winds  
 Disturb the still, complacent minds  
 Of those who dwell on either side  
 This Street of Life. For there abide  
 The souls whom Boston loves to greet  
 A-walking down their Beacon Street.

. . . . .

Lo! Sunday comes! and at their call  
 The breakfast bean and codfish ball,  
 Assisted by a slice of pie,  
 Conspire to raise their spirits high  
 And fit them for that arduous day  
 Their fathers reverenced once,—while they,  
 No longer needing God to serve,  
 Adore themselves with steady nerve.  
 Why should a man Jehovah fear?—  
 The Unitarian church is near.  
 Yes, God made man, they used to say,  
 Now man makes God up Boston-way.

Earlier in this poem were the following lines, abundant in humor, on the Adams family:

Soon after our young planet on its course through space was twirled  
 There appeared the Adams family as the oldest in the world.  
 Everything was fixed to suit them, everything put up their sleeve,  
 And for Adams express company there was furnished lovely Eve.  
 Everything made way before them, and if there was need to weave

Fig leaves for a coat for Adam, then the fig trees had to leave.  
You observe I call him Adam, and not Adams with an S;  
And the reason why they altered their own name you doubtless  
guess.

It was done to hide the family from the coming deep disgrace  
That the first one brought on all the later members of the race.  
This is why, in careful Boston, no one speaks of Adams Fall,  
From their pain to think an Adams could make any slip at all.  
Well, the Adams left their Eden—fired, evicted, shipped, dis-  
missed,—

Frowned on by the shining angel, by the thankless serpent hissed.  
Yet, though downcast, they attempted to raise up their luck  
again,

Till by dint of strenuous effort they both managed to raise Cain.

At these luncheons there always stood on the table a beautifully carved silver bowl, inscribed with the names of the four who had organized the Club and with the indication that it was to become the property of the eldest son of him who, last dying, left a son. As Pyne and Forbes and Pine all passed away in a quite too rapid succession, this beautiful memorial went to the eldest son of Speir.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the interest and the humor of these Annual Christmas Luncheons. Coming together as we did at one o'clock, we frequently stayed together till sundown, going over our past experiences, telling humorous anecdotes, rereading the old verses which had amused us so often, and occasionally producing new ones. It was a noteworthy group and a brilliant one. Perhaps there has been none other just like it—certainly none that I have known.

Then comes the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, that truly marvellous Club with more than a half-century of fine tradition and distinguished performance in letters and in the arts. San Francisco owes much to the fact that from 1849 until the opening of the first transcontinental rail-

way, some twenty years later, it was so remote and so cut off from the rest of the country that it was not only under invitation, but almost under compulsion, to develop its own independent literary and artistic life. Therefore, there came to be about the Bay a group containing a number of brilliant men who, whatever their calling in life, found time and opportunity to have a real interest in and for letters and the fine arts. They were drawn together in the Bohemian Club, the summer camp of which eventually grew into the magnificent Bohemian Grove on the Russian River, which is a place beyond compare in all this world. It is no exaggeration to say that not since Ancient Greece has there ever been such whole-souled and truly human devotion, on the part of a large group drawn from every walk in life, to all that is best in that life, including human relationships, letters and the fine arts, as is to be found each midsummer at the Bohemian Grove. It is the one place in the world where a man counts for nothing but what he really is. Its motto is: Weaving Spiders Come Not Here. When one arrives at the trees which mark the entrance to the Grove he is, figuratively speaking, stripped naked of all his honors, offices, possessions and emoluments, and is allowed to enter simply as a personality, there to be weighed and measured in terms of personality and nothing more. I have seen men of highest official position and men of great wealth treated with the greatest unconcern by the dwellers in the Bohemian Grove, simply because these men put on airs and endeavored to assume a superiority to which they had no possible claim. The talk there by night and by day, and the music, vocal and instrumental, and the thousand and one human happenings are unique among modern men.

Those who have not been present at the ceremony of the Burial of Care at the annual encampment in the Bohe-

mian Grove have missed one of the most solemn and inspiring ceremonies of which I know. It is now done in accordance with a stately ritual, but during the Great War different conditions prevailed. In 1918 when the War on the Western Front was at its height, there were at the Burial of Care ceremony voices to represent France, England, Belgium, Italy and the United States. The vast grove of redwoods was in darkness and as the strong light was turned upon the spokesmen for these nations, one after another, they were seen standing at a slight elevation, clothed in white, each to recite in verse the message which he had to deliver. From him who spoke for Belgium I heard for the first time, with deepest emotion, the verses beginning "In Flanders fields the poppies blow" which had only lately been written.

Each annual encampment of the Bohemian Club reaches its climax and end with the High Jinks, when the play of the year, written by a member of the Club, is presented, accompanied by the music written by another member of the Club. It is invariably a stirring and inspiring performance and when, on the following day, we separate and go our several ways from that great home of the human spirit, we go, each one of us, with new strength and new inspiration because of our happy and fortunate experiences with the realities of life and quite away from its dross, its too frequent vulgarity and its lack of comprehension.

In the Bohemian Grove the Camp to which I was so happy to belong was appropriately called The Land of Happiness. We had intimate friends and companions in every part of the Grove, but especially perhaps in the Camps called Lost Angels, Mandalay, and Woof. These companionships and friendships have extended over many years and are precious indeed.



The Author with his favorite caddie on the golf course  
at Augusta, Georgia, 1928



Still another group of more than usual interest and distinction was that known as the Little Mothers. This name was given it in jest by a woman who insisted that when the group came together, it was for the purpose of rocking the cradle of the universe. The Little Mothers had their gathering place at the Hotel Bon Air, Augusta, Georgia, during the month of March, and their life extended over some fifteen years. The members of this group were men who had gone to Augusta for a spring holiday, usually to play golf, and among their number were frequently to be found men of exceptional importance in official life at Washington. This was particularly true in the month of March of those years in which the Congress adjourned on March 4. The Little Mothers used to assemble at ten o'clock in the evening in one of the lower rooms of the Hotel Bon Air and sit about a table until midnight discussing important questions of one sort or another, frequently political. Warren Harding, first as senator and afterwards as President, was a member of the group and so were such men as Senators Hale of Maine, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Brandegee of Connecticut, Saulsbury of Delaware, Speaker Gillett of Massachusetts, Governor Cox of Ohio, and many others. In 1920 there were in this Club during the month of March at least four men who were voted for as possible Presidential candidates at the two National Conventions in the June following. These were Harding and Cox who became the two candidates, Governor Lowden of Illinois, and Senator Saulsbury of Delaware.

Among our many interesting evenings I recall one late in March, 1917. The German Ambassador had been sent home by President Wilson and there was every indication that the United States would shortly be at war with Germany. Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who was then a

member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, said that he wanted to talk to the Little Mothers that night as he had something very important to say. When we were all settled in our places Hitchcock developed his plan for armed neutrality and did it in excellent taste and with much force. He had posted himself thoroughly on the armed neutrality discussions and happenings of the last years of the eighteenth century, and he developed, in accordance with that precedent, the plan which he wanted the government of the United States to follow at the moment. He took perhaps a half-hour to tell his story and the whole company listened eagerly. There were twenty or thirty hearers, some of them from New England, some from the Middle West and some from the Northwest, and they represented every possible shade of political affiliation and opinion. When Hitchcock had finished, it was difficult to preserve even a pretence of order, for at least a dozen of these men jumped upon him and at him, combating with vehemence amounting almost to fury his point of view and his arguments. Hitchcock stuck to his guns, however, and when he returned to Washington a few days later he presented his plan to President Wilson who would have none of it.

The Little Mothers were put to death by the Eighteenth Amendment, since when that became effective it was no longer possible to have on their table even the slight refreshment which had been usual.

As a result, there grew up at the Hotel Bon Air a quite different group, this time known as the Conversation Club. The members of this group used to gather every morning after breakfast and spend an hour, sometimes two hours, in stimulating discussion, frequently listening to the experiences and anecdotes of some one of the Club who had enjoyed some particular opportunity which was of inter-

est. One might tell anecdotes of this group, which was recruited from all over the United States, almost endlessly. It also lasted for nearly fifteen years and was then dissolved by the passage of time.

It was at the Conversation Club that I first heard with some definiteness and precision just what was taking place in Soviet Russia. One morning Hugh L. Cooper, the distinguished engineer, said that he thought the members of the Club might like to hear something of his experiences with the Russian government in connection with the great dam which he was building on the Dnieper River, and for more than an hour he told us, with greatest elaboration of detail, about his dealings with the Russian government, financial and other, and he answered our many questions in most illuminating fashion.

Then I must tell something of the Occasional Thinkers, a group of understanding and affectionate friends who keep fully alive the best traditions of conversation in our American social life. The perpetually juvenile spirit and temper of this group are shown by their motto: "Thank God, we never lived to grow up!" as well as their Hymn before Action: "Don't let the old jokes die"—which is sung in chorus each time that they sit together at table.

The Occasional Thinkers came into existence first some thirty years ago as the William H. Crocker Amusement and Exploration Company, Ltd. Their headquarters on the Pacific Coast were at the Bohemian Club in San Francisco and on the Atlantic Coast at the Lotos Club in New York. The announced object of this organization was to induce Mr. Crocker, whose home was in California, to come to New York as often as possible, to see to it that he was entertained at luncheon, at dinner and at golf with practically uninterrupted continuity, and to plan excursions of one kind and another to different parts of the

United States. From year to year some members of this group explored at one time Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific; at another the Pacific Coast from Puget Sound to the Mexican border; at another the mountains and valleys and high passes of the Sierras in California; at still another the desert parts of Nevada from the Southern Pacific Railway on the north down through Death Valley to Mojave on the south, and in general to see to it that no part of the United States was left untouched and unknown. One of our amusing experiences was that we found it necessary to organize several expeditions for the purpose of showing California to its native sons, several of whom had contented themselves with sitting quietly about the Bay of San Francisco all their lives. The group, in addition to Mr. Crocker, consisted originally of Henry S. Pritchett, the distinguished president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Jerome Landfield and Joseph D. Redding of San Francisco, Carl Ahlstrom of New York, and myself. Our medical and spiritual adviser was Doctor Alanson Weeks of San Francisco, and as I have already said, our camp in the Bohemian Grove was appropriately called the Land of Happiness.

Little by little the small group which made up the William H. Crocker Amusement and Exploration Company, Ltd. enlarged its number and settled down to the fixed habit of lunching together every Saturday in New York at that season of the year when golf and other outdoor sport were impracticable. These luncheons, which fortunately are still going on, are held sometimes at one New York City club and sometimes at another and are always an inspiration and a delight. The Occasional Thinkers now number perhaps eighteen or twenty in all, and are drawn from various callings and walks of life, and reflect many different intellectual and professional interests. The

enlarged membership of the group now includes, in addition to myself:

Carl F. Ahlstrom, George Barr Baker of California, Boris A. Bakhmeteff, the last Ambassador from liberal Russia to Washington, Frederic R. Coudert, former Chief Judge Frederick E. Crane of the Court of Appeals, Surrogate James A. Foley, former Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher, Charles K. Field of California, Charles D. Hilles, F. L. V. Hoppin, Doctor Foster Kennedy, H. Hobart Porter, Walter W. Price, Herbert L. Satterlee, John Godfrey Saxe, Alfred E. Smith and Judge James G. Wallace.

In grievously rapid succession Patrick Francis Murphy, William H. Crocker of California, George Barton French, Morgan J. O'Brien, James R. Sheffield, Martin Egan, Henry S. Pritchett and Philip A. S. Franklin have passed from earth during recent years.

Until his lamented death a few years ago, Patrick Francis Murphy, outstanding raconteur and wit, was a chief figure at the frequent gatherings of the Occasional Thinkers. His anecdotes, his improvisations and his amusing verses were a constant delight to us all. Few men confined their reading to books on so high a plane as did Pat Murphy, and few used their reading to better advantage. Some of his intimate verses are quite charming. He, like all the rest of us, held in greatest affection Morgan O'Brien, whose career at the Bar, on the Bench and in good citizenship was so outstanding through two generations of men. In some verses which he wrote in celebration of Morgan O'Brien's birthday these lines occur:

He's gained so much from age  
And lost but little of youth;  
In all his life he's put  
The spirit of play.

So you can readily see  
 When he is ninety-three,  
 He'll be but half the age  
 He is today.

• • • • •

When on the tee he takes his place  
 With shining morning face,  
 He's ready for all comers, old and young;  
 But when handicaps are set  
 Be careful of your bet,  
 For the best club that he carries is his tongue.

During the tragedy and folly of attempted nationwide Prohibition, Murphy wrote these verses which were enthusiastically sung for several years:

Let us stop somebody doing something,  
 We must regulate other people's views.  
 Many seem to think they've a right to eat and drink,  
 But only what we choose.  
 Let's stop love and cigarette smoking,  
 We've got noses; they're made for poking.

*Chorus*

Find out what everybody's doing,  
 Stop everybody doing what they do.

Let us stop somebody doing something,  
 There is too much Liberty here,  
 All this wine and song is obviously wrong,  
 Some Law must interfere.  
 Let's make the girls wear high-neck blouses,  
 Put wire-tappers on other people's houses.

*Chorus*

Find out what everybody's doing,  
 Stop everybody doing what they do.

It is not likely that there are many groups of this type at once so catholic and so intimate to be found anywhere

in the United States, and we are all hoping that the years may deal kindly with those of us who are left.

Finally, it remains to speak of the Round Table. This most interesting and important group, whose history was written by Brander Matthews in 1926 and privately printed, had its beginning nearly three-quarters of a century ago. It is the most famous and probably much the oldest dining club in the city of New York. It had its origin among a group who were interested particularly in Free Trade, which one of them charmingly described as "a cause for which at that time many people were ready to dine." This group included Edwin L. Godkin, Editor of *The Nation*, when that paper was in its prime, Charles H. Marshall, Alfred Pell, E. Randolph Robinson, and one or two more. After a few years the interest of the group broadened and there came to it such outstanding personalities as John L. Cadwalader, James C. Carter, John Hay, Clarence King, John La Farge, Doctor S. Weir Mitchell, Professor William G. Sumner of Yale, and William C. Whitney.

First and last the Round Table has had about one hundred members. The gaps caused by the very few resignations and by the many deaths have always been promptly filled. There is now no member who was elected in the nineteenth century. The Round Table has included at one time or another two Presidents of the United States, two Secretaries of State, half a dozen Assistant Secretaries of State, two Attorney Generals, one Secretary of War, and one Secretary of the Navy. There have also been eight American envoys to foreign nations, and one ambassador from a foreign nation, M. Jusserand of France. The list has included two members of the Senate of the United States, two members of the Peace Commission of 1918, one member of the Permanent Court of International

Justice, one Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and one judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals. Princeton has been represented by three presidents, while Yale, Harvard and Columbia have had one each upon the list of members. There have been two bishops, one of New York and one of Massachusetts. There have been directors of the New York Public Library, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of the American Academy at Rome, and of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. The list has included one admiral and four generals, together with three editors and more than three times as many men of letters. Science has contributed three astronomers and two geologists, and the fine arts two painters, one sculptor, five architects, and one landscape architect. There have been five physicians, half a dozen bankers, and as many executives of great corporations. The lawyers lead the list with more than a score of names, four of them having been honored by election to the presidency of the American Bar Association. Some twenty of the members of the Round Table, authors and artists, have also been members of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and five have been members of the National Academy of Science.

The Round Table has no constitution, no by-laws and no rules or officers of any kind, save that the member earliest elected serves as Honorary Secretary and takes the chair, which is a mere formality, at each dinner. Mr. Godkin was the first secretary and served until his death in 1902. He was succeeded by another of the seven founders, Charles H. Marshall, who died in 1912, and he in turn by Stephen H. Olin, who died in 1925, and Brander Matthews, who died in 1929. Since that date the senior member has been myself.

Among the distinguished guests from overseas who have

taken part in one or more of these famous dinners have been Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Earl Midleton, President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, Bishop Nicola of Serbia, Sir Martin Conway, Sir Charles Wyndham, George Arliss, Henry Arthur Jones, William Archer, the Marquess of Lothian, H. G. Wells, Guglielmo Ferrero, the Marchese Misiattelli of Rome and John Buchan, author and publicist, who, as Lord Tweedsmuir, was Governor-General of Canada at the time of his death.

Good talk, as Brander Matthews says in his sketch, is a symphony in which no solo should be unduly prolonged, and a really good talker is as apt in listening as he is capable in speech. Perhaps the nearest approach to the Round Table is the sort of conversations which Greville describes as having taken place at Holland House when that was the social center of Whig Society in England, and when Sydney Smith and Macaulay were frequent visitors.

There have been many and interesting episodes at these dinners, which are stately held at the Knickerbocker Club on the first Friday of each month from November until May, both inclusive. It was at the dinner held four weeks before his first inauguration as President that Woodrow Wilson heard from Elihu Root and Joseph H. Choate the full meaning of the treaty which had made possible the building of the Panama Canal. These two outstanding statesmen insisted that our good faith as a nation was involved in living up strictly to these provisions of the Treaty which made no exception in favor of vessels flying the United States flag. Mr. Root shot to pieces with his knowledge and his logic the arguments to the contrary which had been urged on the stump and on the floor of the Senate. The President-elect listened attentively. He asked a few questions and when the explanation ended he said: "This has been an illuminating discussion, I knew very

little about this subject. I think I now understand it and the principles that are involved. When the time comes for me to act, you may count upon my taking the right stand." There was no question in the minds of any who were present as to what Mr. Wilson meant, and when the time came he did take the right stand.

On Sunday, January 6, 1929, I spent an hour with Brander Matthews at his home and, among other things, told him of the capital talk at the Round Table Dinner on the Friday preceding, which he had not been able to attend. Brander said, "Do you keep any notes of those wonderful evenings?" I replied, "No, I never have, but now that I have read many journals and memoranda of men of the past generation, I have a notion that it has been a mistake for some of us not to put down our recollections of the talk of that very striking group which makes up the Round Table Dining Club." Brander responded, "You cannot begin too soon."

This colloquy led me to jot down a few recollections of the talk on the evening of January 4.

There were ten of the group present, among them four of our newest members—Chief Judge Cardozo of the Court of Appeals, Doctor George Draper of New York, Jeremiah Smith, Jr., of Boston and Roland S. Morris of Philadelphia. Mr. Smith and Mr. Morris had been selected after careful consideration in order to preserve the fortunate contacts which the Round Table had long had both with Boston and with Philadelphia, and which were broken in the case of Philadelphia by the death of the late Doctor S. Weir Mitchell and by the removal of Doctor Talcott Williams to New York, and in the case of Boston by the death of Charles Francis Adams and the inability of Bishop Lawrence to be present more than once in every two or three years. Elihu Root was there, having obviously

secured an arrest in the course of his grave illness of the heart, looking and seeming unusually cheerful and well. John G. Milburn was also there, together with William Barclay Parsons, Edward Robinson and Frank L. Polk.

The talk turned chiefly on two wholly unrelated topics, which followed each other in our usual casual and informal fashion. Root spoke of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and said he had just now put aside all other reading in order to wade through the hundreds of pages of the official report relating to that trial. He remarked that there had been so much discussion of it and so sharp a difference of opinion that he felt it incumbent on him to master the facts. He talked about the case with full knowledge and great brilliancy, summing up his conclusions in these three statements: the trial was as fair a trial as any of which he had ever read; the evidence of the guilt of the two men was overwhelming; and the question as to whether or not there was a reasonable doubt depended upon what credence one could give to the testimony of a man whom he did not feel he could believe at all. At one time Judge Cardozo threw in the side remark that, so long as capital punishment was retained, these debatable questions would arise and sharp differences of opinion in the public mind could not be avoided. Jeremiah Smith, Jr., contributed very interesting talk concerning some of the lawyers associated with the case. Altogether, I, for one, got a much clearer view of the matters in debate than I theretofore had. My impression had previously been that these men were not guilty.

Whether before or after the talk about Sacco-Vanzetti I do not recall, but a good part of the evening was spent in extolling Albert Beveridge's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, which pretty much all of us had read or were reading. I told some anecdotes of Beveridge himself, and of his

talk with me at his own house in Indianapolis about his conception of this task and his methods of undertaking it. Milburn agreed with me that the book was a masterpiece of the first order and gave a number of illustrations to support his judgment. Toward the end of the talk on this topic, George Draper, whose face was aglow with excitement and interest, said that he felt as if Abraham Lincoln had been present with us, it all seemed so real, so vital and so intimate.

Throughout the evening the talk was genuine Round Table talk, each one listening or participating in the general conversation. When we broke up we felt, by common consent, that we had had an exceptionally brilliant and interesting evening together.

The dinner of the Round Table on February 4 following was most agreeable, although unmarked by anything very distinctive. We were nine in all, including Root, Milburn, Moore, Parsons, Sheffield, Davis, Wickersham, Jeremiah Smith, Jr., and myself. We had a good deal of what Brander Matthews called anecdote, and, at the end of the evening, Parsons laughingly remarked that with the exception of himself we were all lawyers and that all the talk had been about law. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the talk involved law, because much was said about incidents in the United States Supreme Court and characteristics of some of the distinguished judges of the past generation.

We all congratulated Root on his feeling strong enough to go to Geneva as a member of the Commission to study the revision of the rules governing the Court of International Justice. It so happened that Jeremiah Smith left the dinner table to go to the *Aquitania*, which was sailing at midnight, in order that he might render service as one of the advisers to the Commission on the economic and financial situation which had just been called into being.

The Round Table Dinner of November 1, 1929, naturally drew out much talk on international matters and problems, in view of the visit of the Prime Minister in the government of England, which had just taken place. Mr. Lamont related a very interesting experience which illustrated Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's naïveté.

It appears that while the conference at The Hague was sitting in the early summer, and Mr. Snowden was taking his stiff stand in reference to Great Britain's share of the reparations payments, the Prime Minister was at Lossiemouth and Mr. Lamont was at North Berwick playing golf. To his great surprise he was one day called by the Prime Minister by telephone. In the conversation which followed, the Prime Minister expressed his fear that Mr. Snowden was going too far and urged Mr. Lamont to go to The Hague and give sagacious counsel. The Prime Minister added that he had no direct information as to what was going on there, but was dependent upon the newspapers. To this most surprising statement, Mr. Lamont replied urging the Prime Minister to get detailed and definite information from The Hague without delay, since the issues which had been raised might prove to be most serious. He went on to point out how unwise it would be for him, an American and a member of a banking house, to appear at The Hague at such a moment. He also asked the Prime Minister to consider whether it was wise to use the public telephone for confidential conversation on such matters at such a time.

The Round Table has been and is a most exceptional group of cultivated gentlemen, looking out upon life from very varied points of view, but always with understanding, with broad and sincere sympathies and with that vision which marks the highest and best disciplined intelligence.

Unfortunately, the famous Saturday nights at the Cen-

tury Club exist no longer. They fell a victim to the changes which new habits and conventions brought into the life of New York and to the personal changes which were inevitable with the passage of time. First in the old club-house on East 15th Street and afterwards in the new house on West 43d Street, which is now about to complete its first half-century of occupancy, there gathered each Saturday night from one hundred to three hundred of the most interesting and attractive men that New York could furnish. They were men of letters, artists, scholars, statesmen and men of the world. There was no interest which they did not reflect and no form of public service or activity with which some of them were not in closest contact. On Saturday evenings they used to sit together in casual groups, to smoke and to talk until midnight and long after. Indeed, Henry Holt once said that it should be made a misdemeanor to leave the Century on Saturday night before the hour arrived at which the clubhouse was to be closed. He added, with a smile, that he himself did not sleep very well.

If there was a group from which came shouts of laughter and merriment, it was pretty certain to be gathered about Clarence King or F. Hopkinson Smith or Charles C. Beaman or Frank D. Millet or Brander Matthews or Joseph H. Choate. Centers of somewhat more serious groups might be Bishop Henry C. Potter or Professor J. Howard Van Amringe or Henry Adams or Joseph W. Harper or Augustus St. Gaudens or, in earlier days, George William Curtis, William M. Evarts, or Edwin L. Godkin. All this now belongs to the past.

The good fellowship of the Century has been marked within very recent years by a characteristically clever and amusing revival of the Twelfth-night celebration, which has taken place at intervals for a long time.

These reflections indicate, once again, what great advantage Age has over Youth. Age may look back upon years of outstanding happiness and satisfaction which are accomplished facts. Youth may look forward into an unknown future with hope and confidence, but it will be some time before the history of that future can be known and written.

If Ponce de Leon were still in search of the Fountain of Perpetual Youth, he would be able to find it in any one of these stimulating and truly noteworthy groups. He would understand perhaps the famous *mot* of Patrick Francis Murphy: Youth would be more interesting if it came later in life.

All these conversation groups, different as they have been and are, have one important characteristic in common; that is, the entire absence of anything unbecoming or malicious, either in speech or in story. Those who tell us that conversation no longer exists as it did in the high days of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are flatly contradicted by the existence for over half a century of the several groups which have just been briefly described. There has not been, and there could not well be, any better, any more interesting, or any more informing conversation than that which was theirs. To have known and to know these splendid and high-minded human beings, leaders in the many-sided life of our time, has of itself been not only an inspiration but a constant joy.

Nothing could be more foolish than to say sadly that all the good things have gone out of life. He who says it does not know where to look.

## XII

### EPILOGUE

THAT which has been written for these pages seems little more than a Table of Contents. To give the full and detailed account of all the happenings which have been described, to record the correspondence which extends over a full half-century and which deals with matters of far more than merely personal interest, would require many volumes. There would still remain the story of decade after decade of significant visits, conferences and public appearances in nearly a score of countries, many of the details of which have passed into history without attracting public attention. These would include addresses before legislatures and state constitutional conventions in the United States, before official bodies of one sort or another in ten or a dozen European countries, as well as in Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, and before every sort and kind of educational, economic, business and labor gathering or convention.

During all these busy years, of course the dominating center of my interest and activity, as well as of my affection, has been the building and the administration of Columbia University. Of this very little has here been said.<sup>1</sup> The reason is that this story has been told in fullest detail in eleven annual reports as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and in thirty-eight annual reports as President of the Uni-

<sup>1</sup>See Vol. I, Ch. VII, "Building a University."

versity, supplemented by scores of addresses and reports of various kinds. Despite the absorbing character and long continuance of my international associations and activities, these have been almost wholly confined, so far as my personal presence was concerned, to those months of the year when Columbia University was on vacation. Only five times, no matter how severe the pressure may have been, have I made visits to Europe during any portion of the usual academic year. These were in 1893, in 1923, in 1930, in 1934 and in 1935. In each case the reasons for these foreign visits have been set out in some detail.

It has always been a satisfaction to reflect upon the fact that my intense interest in the work of politics, national and international, is the result of my father's example and teaching. He never shared the view, so widespread in America, that politics means the selection and election of candidates for public office. That he looked upon in its true light as a mere detail. By interest in politics, my father meant interest in ideas, in policies and in improved forms of public administration in his city, his county and his state. That lesson I learned from him very early in life, and I am happy indeed to have done all that I could to follow his example. It is essential to good citizenship in a democracy.

Then, too, there has been the lifelong influence of Professor Burgess. His profound insight into the fundamental principles of political life and organization gave me that knowledge by which I have been guided through all these busy years. The widespread confusion which exists in the American mind between the terms "state" and "government" and between the terms "public" and "official" is responsible for many of the foolish, wasteful and damaging policies which are so constantly undertaken by local, by state and by federal government. If the insight of

Professor Burgess were shared generally by our people or even by our leaders of public opinion, we should not so hopelessly confuse the state and the government nor should we so constantly identify that which is public with that which is official. If teachers of political science wish to accomplish some genuine advance, they may well devote themselves to making clear these two vital distinctions and to interpreting the principles which these distinctions involve.

The satisfaction and the happiness of passing one's life in a society of scholars whose chief interest is in ideas, their understanding and their interpretation, can never be wholly appreciated by those who have not enjoyed such opportunity. Our noteworthy academic family on Morningside Heights and at the Medical Center offers as fine and as stimulating a companionship as the world can provide. There is no aspect or incident of the intellectual life which is not there represented and reflected. Personalities of every type and sort and of as varied backgrounds as can well be imagined are gathered in a university family which is as comforting and as inspiring as it is remarkable. This whole academic group, despite the size to which it has grown, is bound together by ties of genuine co-operation, friendship and affection. There is and has been an almost complete absence of those feuds, jealousies and unhappy rivalries which disturb so many groups devoted to the intellectual life. The long-established practice at Columbia University has been to have all new proposals and all important suggestions threshed out in fullest detail, by those who have authority to pass upon them, in informal gatherings extending over many weeks. So it is that when the time comes for final and formal official action, there is pretty complete agreement as to what should be done as well as a feeling that fullest

consideration has been given to the opinions of each and every member of the group. During the last forty years literally thousands of meetings have been held of the University Faculties, of the University Council and of the several Boards of Trustees included in Columbia University's educational system, but I cannot recall more than five or six occasions on which a roll call has been had or any dissenting votes cast when a new proposal was under consideration. This fortunate record is the result of the system by which all differences of opinion are listened to and considered in informal fashion before the time comes for final action. It is not easy to exaggerate the influence upon the spirit and loyalty of the University family of that happy mode of procedure. Now and then there have been cases of personal friction within departments, but these have been so few that today they are hardly even remembered.

Most of the world's great universities, whether in Europe or in the United States, have grown to their present importance and influence not in pursuance of any definite plan, but by a slow and gradual process of evolution in response to changing forces in the intellectual, social and economic life of their several countries. Columbia University, on the other hand, has come into existence in accordance with a clearly defined plan and purpose. An old-fashioned American college was taken as its foundation, but the university built upon that foundation is distinct from the college both in organization and in aim. The plan has been definitely to distinguish between college and university, to establish and to maintain sound and practical relationships between them, but to make sure that each pursues its own proper and well understood end. In the University, search has been constant for outstanding scholars, men of science, men of letters and intellectual

leaders in every walk of life, who might stimulate and conduct research and original thinking, and bring greatest distinction to the name and influence of the University, as well as enrich its power of public service. The College has as its aim to offer a liberal education to the youth of today.

In building Columbia University the purpose has definitely been to bring into existence what I have many times described as a national and international powerhouse of scholarship and service. For obvious and very practical reasons these university scholars are not grouped in a single faculty, but are divided according to their fields of interest between political science, philosophy, pure science, law, medicine, engineering, education, architecture, business, journalism and pharmacy. A representative University Council, in which all faculties have a voice, is the upper house in this university parliament. All this means the breaking down of the old-fashioned and outworn distinction between the academic and the practical. It brings the academic to the control of the practical and the practical to the guidance of the academic. Members of the Columbia University faculties have for more than a generation been rendering outstanding service in matters national and international to municipal and to state governments as well as to the federal government at Washington. This they have done in most cases without severing, permanently at least, their academic relationship. The result has been great advantage to the public service and added reputation to the University to which these scholars belong.

Columbia University represents, in truest and most complete fashion, the spirit and the ideals of liberal democracy. It is wholly free from any control by Government, whether direct or indirect, and thereby has all the great advantage which comes from the duty and the opportunity to render

public service in the field of Liberty. It has depended, and must always depend, for its support upon the generous benefactions of those citizens who, having money to give, wish to give it in a manner that will be permanently useful to the public welfare on the highest possible plane of endeavor. The greatest disappointment which has attended this task of building the University has resulted from the inability to obtain adequate endowments with which to provide the University with satisfactory equipment for the use of its scholars, as well as to support in more worthy fashion the work that they have undertaken. The long-continued economic depression, together with the greatly increased burden of a taxation which in some instances has become almost confiscatory, have united to make it impossible for the University to give that public service which it might otherwise have done. It is our hope and wish to be able to do for engineering and for law what has already been done so splendidly for medicine, to provide greatly increased income for the support of research and the publication of its results and also to establish a higher scale of salaries, of retiring allowances and of widows' allowances for members of the University staff, whether academic or non-academic. Confidence remains, however, that some day the achievement of these ends will be made possible.

The relationship between the ideals of a true university and politics is quite definite. Politics is the doctrine of how men may live together happily and helpfully in an organized society. It is precisely to the service of politics so defined that the University aims to bring the fruit of its labors through the lives of those who, as teachers or students, have come under its training and its influence.

It is well to bear in mind the wisdom of Machiavelli when he wrote: "The safety of a republic or kingdom

consists not in having a ruler who governs wisely while he lives, but in being subject to one who so organizes it that when he dies it may continue to maintain itself." Columbia University is not content with the interpretation of the past or with an understanding of the present. It is looking forward in a spirit of liberal and constructive thought, with the aim not only of trying to foresee the effect in the future of human forces already at work, but of trying so to guide and to shape those forces that they may bring humanity to a steadily higher level of thought and of action. Columbia University, like old Columbia College before it, has always been closely related to the public life and government of the American people. First the College and then the University have played a commanding part in shaping the federal form of government, as well as in its interpretation and application through more than a century and a half. Both the College and the University may well take pride in this noble history. Where could one's busy years be spent in happier surroundings than in an institution devoted to the intellectual life, whose history is recorded in the classic words of this noble inscription carved upon the Low Memorial Library where all may read:

KING'S COLLEGE FOUNDED IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK  
BY ROYAL CHARTER IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE II  
PERPETUATED AS COLUMBIA COLLEGE BY THE PEOPLE OF THE  
STATE OF NEW YORK WHEN THEY BECAME FREE AND INDEPENDENT  
MAINTAINED AND CHERISHED FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE PUBLIC GOOD  
AND THE GLORY OF ALMIGHTY GOD



*Photograph by Wide World Photos, Inc.*

The King and Queen of Great Britain reading the inscription on Low Memorial Library during their visit to Columbia University, June 10, 1939



## XIII

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71.2009.084.05943

